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Editorial Introduction

One of the lecturers at the Pastors' Conference at Southern Baptist Seminary in August, 1953, was Dr. Kenneth J. Foreman, professor of Doctrinal Theology at the Louisville Presbyterian Seminary. Dr. Foreman's series of lectures on "Alternatives in Theology" was warmly received. The lecture on "The Destiny of Man," printed herein, lays bare the alternatives: we must believe in one destiny for all men (universalism) or two destinies (heaven for some, hell for others). There is backbone in the revised Calvinism of this brilliant Presbyterian theologian.

The whole problem of election and predestination is raised again by Dr. Foreman's article. Without any collaboration between the two authors, Dr. John W. Cobb makes an added contribution on this point in our second article. Dr. Cobb, who is professor of Religion at the University of Corpus Christi, Corpus Christi, Texas, comes close to the heart of the matter in his distinction between predetermination and foreknowledge. He will be remembered as the author of the provocative article on "The Nature of the Resurrection Body" in the issue for October, 1952.

"Existentialism" has become almost a catch-word in some theological circles. Just what is it, and how can so many different views parade under the same name? A helpful answer is offered in the article by Dr. R. F. Aldwinckle, associate professor of Systematic Theology in the Divinity School of McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario. A native of England, Dr. Aldwinckle studied at Oxford and Strasbourg. He served Baptist pastorates in Coventry and London before going to Canada to teach.

The Mullins Lectures on Preaching were delivered at the Southern Baptist Seminary during the week of November 3-6, 1953. Dr. David A. MacLennan, professor of Homiletics at Yale Divinity School brought four stimulating addresses, of which the third in the series is offered to our readers. Before going to this present position, Dr.

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MacLennan ministered to churches within the United Church of Canada.

There is no disposition on the part of the editors to keep alive the controversy over the Revised Standard Version of the Bible. The article by Professor Nelson B. Baker does not take sides, but offers a historical background against which the current situation can more readily be understood. The author is professor of English Bible at Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

A neglected aspect of the problem of church and state receives treatment in our final article. While it is primarily a historical study, a certain timeliness attaches to this because of renewed interest in Franco's Spain, since the situation in modern Spain is not altogether different from that which prevailed in her colonies in other days. The author, Dr. W. Conard Gass, is professor of History at Campbellsville College, Campbellsville, Kentucky.

The April issue will be a special number, dedicated to Dr. W. O. Carver, containing articles by his former students, in the various areas in which this great teacher exerted strong influence, such as missions, comparative religion, philosophy, and Biblical studies. You will not want to miss this issue!

THE DESTINY OF MAN: ONE OR TWO?

BY KENNETH J. FOREMAN

By "destiny" I mean, what is to become of us, at last? I mean ultimate destiny, not proximate destiny. For example, the Roman doctrine of purgatory has nothing to do with this topic, because on the theory of purgatory every one there is destined for heaven. Eventually purgatory will be entirely empty; it is no part of the ultimate destiny of mankind. There are Christians who teach that the souls of the departed are now in a kind of soul-sleep; others teach that souls of the dead have simply ceased altogether to exist; that is to say, they are now in a state of nothingness, if that can be called a state. But if those that sleep shall awake, if those who have ceased to exist begin to exist once more, then what they are now is not their destiny in the sense in which I am using the term.

An old and valued friend of mine, a highly placed churchman, in his old age used to say to me that as he looked forward to heaven he did not expect to be ushered into its full glory all at once. When he was a baby, he said, he lived for a year or two in much confusion. He understood nothing of what was going on around him. It took him some time to become used to this world. So he expected to go through a sort of heavenly babyhood. But that would not be his final destiny, only a stage upon the way. C. S. Lewis's famous parable, "The Great Divorce" —to me a great and moving book—describes a vast grey city where souls live a kind of existence which is certainly not heaven and yet not quite hell. But for some, at any rate, of its citizens that city is not their final destiny. There have been Christians who have pictured Christ after his crucifixion and before his resurrection, descending to the Pit and preaching there, bringing out his saints, Abraham, Moses and the rest, from the place of darkness. If that too is true, then the destiny of Moses, say, before Christ set him free, was not the destiny which now concerns us.

There are Christians who believe that after death, at once or later, some spirits are sent to hell, but that in hell

they will repent, and another chance will be given them. If that is true, and if there are souls in hell at the present hour, who will eventually repent and be allowed to enter heaven, then their present state does not concern us. I mean, it does not affect our question, which is: What is to be the *ultimate* destiny of mankind? Further, our question leaves details out of sight. We can ask all kinds of questions about heaven and hell. Shall we recognize our loved ones? Is the fire of hell actual fire and if so on what does it feed? Such questions are clear out of our picture. The main point of the question can be put in this way: Is every member of the human race destined, *ultimately*, to exist in the blessed presence of God, or are some to be finally shut out? When I say heaven here I mean not necessarily the traditional pictures of it; I mean its central significance, the Lord in the midst of his people. When I use the word hell it is not to be understood necessarily in terms of fire and brimstone; I mean hell's central significance, being cut off irrevocably from God's mercy. So we can put our question if we like in a more old-fashioned way: Is everybody finally going to heaven, or are some going to hell? Is the destiny of mankind one, or two?

We may by-pass some one-destiny theories which are not to the point because they are not Christian. For instance, it can be said that death ends all, for all. The Christian view, however, whatever its variations, has always looked beyond death to another life. Again, there is the pantheist view that we like all things are parts of God, that if in this life we seem to have individual existence it is only as bubbles in the froth of a wave; at death we are reabsorbed, the good and the evil alike, into the ALL as foam into the sea. The Christian view has consistently been that while the life of God may interpenetrate the life of man, God never absorbs man. Man never was God; he never will be. A less respectable view than Pantheism is Spiritualism. As I understand it, the main point of this cult is the survival of the human spirit beyond death; but Spiritualists do not draw any distinction between the survival of the good and

the evil. Certainly for them the dead are not divided by any line of faith or repentance. Jesus Christ does not enter the picture in any way. After the kind of inane chatter which emanates from the seances of spiritualists, I do not think the destiny which according to them awaits the dying is anything but dull; but fortunately I do not have to believe in these tales. And they are certainly not Christian.

If we leave on one side one-destiny theories which are not Christian, we may leave on the other side what may be called multiple-destiny theories. There are only two of these that I know of, though there may be more among the various religions of the world. One is the theory of Dispensationalism, that there are three ultimate destinies: heaven for the Christian saints, hell for the sinners, this earth for the Jews. This theory is based on an absurd kind of literalism in Old Testament interpretation and is not held by any main-line Christian church. The other three-destiny theory is that of the Roman Catholic church. As for the ultimate destiny, as has been said, Purgatory is only a kind of cleansing process on the saint's way to heaven. But there is another place, *Limbus Infantum* or "Limbo" for short, where on the Romanist theory there exist the souls of unbaptized babies. These infants are not unhappy, like the denizens of hell. But since the guilt of their original sin was not purged away by baptism, they remain to all eternity unfit to enter the actual presence of God and will never see his face as the saints will. This theory is based on the equally untenable theory of baptismal regeneration, and so is rejected by all Protestant churches.

Now we are ready for the question: One destiny for humanity, or two? We begin with the two-destiny theory because it is the standard doctrine in the Protestant churches. I suppose we were all brought up on it. Let us waive the question so often confused with it: Is hell eternal? A recent sermon by a Presbyterian minister purporting to be a refutation of Ferre's universalism, goes off into a long discussion of the eternity of hell. That is neither here nor there. Suppose hell is not eternal. Suppose that after long

punishment the sufferers there are admitted to heaven; in that case you have a one-destiny theory. But suppose that after a time, whether long or short, it becomes clear that some occupants of hell will never repent—suppose God then simply destroys the unrepentant, absolutely, totally, finally; in other words, suppose that hell is the prelude to destruction, then hell might finally burn itself out when the last sinner had been consumed. But still there would be two destinies, not one. You have a two-destiny doctrine even if you suppose that at death some men are from that instant annihilated but that the rest go to heaven. That would mean that ultimately, all the human race there is would be in heaven. But the question is not: Will all the survivors of the human race be in heaven? It is: Will all persons who have ever been born, eventually exist in the presence of God? Your two-destiny theory can mean: heaven and hell; or it can mean: heaven and annihilation.

Now the two-destiny theory is more than a theory; it is an accepted doctrine. I do not mean it has been proved. No eschatological theory can be proved in the logician's sense of that word. But from earliest days it has been the teaching of the main-line Christian churches. Briefly in the Protestant form, and leaving unbaptized babies and purgatory out of account, it is this: After this life, all souls survive, though for the present in a disembodied condition in what is called the Intermediate State, a prelude and foretaste of their ultimate destiny. This destiny is already fixed at death, but is to be confirmed at the General or Last Judgment. After that, all men's souls will be reunited with their bodies and the saved will spend eternity in heaven (eternity, by the way, here conceived as endless duration) while the unsaved will spend eternity in hell.

One thing should be made clear at this point: that heaven and hell, as such, are not in the nature of reward and punishment. I know they are often so represented by popular preachers of the more old-fashioned sort. But that is not the way the more reflective church understands it. It is standard Protestant doctrine that no man deserves heaven.

If God treated us as we deserve, we should never be saved at all; God would never bother with us; we should be left to the inevitable consequences of our perverse choices; and the inevitable consequences of such choices is precisely what is meant by hell. I repeat, hell is being barred off from God. Sin essentially is choosing our own way rather than God's, it is wanting to go our own ways like lost sheep. Hell is God saying, "Very well, if you must you must. If you will not have Me, you must endure the consequences of going without Me." To walk away from the Father of Lights is to walk into the outer darkness. I say that apart from God's mercy that would be the end of all of us. The message of the Gospel is that God is not content to let us go. His last word is not vengeance or contempt or regret or even justice; his last word is seeking steadfast love. God has in these last days spoken to us by a Son, and what he says is, "Come home." Those who are in heaven are not there because they merited it, or earned it, any more than the prodigal son's ring was given him as a reward. The idea that at death God adds up our accounts and if we have been good enough, admits us to heaven, but if we have not been quite good enough, packs us off to hell, is not a Christian but a pagan notion. Now there *are* rewards in heaven; to suppose that there are no distinctions there is in the last degree unlikely. But whatever varying degrees of blessedness there may be in the presence of God, there is no one there whose presence is due to his own sheer merit. And if shut out, it is not because he was too wicked to come in, but because he would not take the outstretched hand of God.

Now, why is it that the two-destiny doctrine has been and still is generally believed? One is that scriptural statements support it. That there is the good destiny, no one will deny, because it is a welcome doctrine. That there is a bad destiny is not welcome, so far as I know not welcome to any one. Any one who really takes pleasure in the thought that even one man, even the worst man, would be finally shut away from God, would be a kind of demon.

If God takes no pleasure in the death of the wicked, how can a child of God take pleasure in that prospect? It is not because it is easy and pleasant to believe, but because the conclusion seems to be forced upon us, that we who believe in the two-destiny theory keep to that tragic belief.

Hell is not, I repeat, a matter of endless torture. Let us suppose there is no torture at all. All that is needed to make hell is just the absence of God, God just letting the sinners go. Or let us suppose that this second destiny is absolute and final annihilation. This also cannot be contemplated with any pleasure, even the slightest. When in our state a man is executed, does it not give you a terrible sense of failure that all we could think of doing with this man who did not fit, was to destroy him? And does it not give a sense of cosmic tragedy to suppose that there are some persons so inassimilable, so hopelessly perverse, that not even God can find any solution of the problem of their existence but to destroy them? If I say this is not a pleasant doctrine, it is a terrific understatement. But the church holds it, because all over the New Testament when the great choice is offered to men, it is not between different kinds of life, different levels of attainment, but what theologians nowadays call existential choice, choice between life and death. The house not built on Christ and his words crashes in the storm. The foolish virgins arrive after the door is shut. "Depart into everlasting fire." "Throw the unprofitable servant into outer darkness." "Between us and you there is a great gulf fixed." "The soul that sinneth, it shall die." Without the walls of the eternal city are the cowardly, the unclean, the liars. God sent his son into the world that whoever believes in him might not perish. . . . Faith and life, unfaith and death. The certainty of a happy ending for everybody is not held out in the New Testament. The somber thought runs all through it: Some choices are irrevocable. Some choices lead to death. There is a point of no return. For some lives, the last word is not hope but despair. You have to get rid of many pages in the New Testament if you want to get rid of its direct testimony to

the doctrine that mankind faces two destinies, that the bad is as real as the good. It does not make any difference, whether as the Middle Ages thought, only a small part of the whole race would ever see heaven, or whether as many modern Christians think, only a small part will be finally excluded from heaven. If even one soul misses the destiny of glorifying and enjoying God forever, there are two destinies.

There are also some considerations not drawn directly from Scripture texts. For one thing, the idea of two destines is a logical consequence of the freedom of man. Dr. E. Y. Mullins wrote: "The question of an eternal hell is ultimately a question of human freedom. . . . The ultimate question is not: Why does God permit hell? It is rather this: Why did he make men free?"[1] Berdyaev puts it dramatically: "Man has a moral right to hell. He has the right to say No even to God."[2] Not that it is ever right to say No to God; Berdyaev does not mean that. But if man is free, really free to do wrong and to choose wrong and to go wrong, it is inevitable that sooner or later some man or the race of man will go wrong. God, being infinite, might very well have created a race that could not choose wrong, that could never do anything to its own hurt, an angelic race that could not possibly fall. But He desired sons, not puppets, men who would serve him freely. We believe that God chose rather to be loved and served, however imperfectly, by free spirits who could deny and hate him, rather than be loved and served perfectly by robots who could not choose otherwise. If there is to be the possibility of free allegiance, there must be the possibility of free defiance. God could arrange his universe so that every last individual in it would at last find God irresistible. But an irresistible God means an unfree race of men. An irresistible God means a heaven full of persons who are there only as iron filings cluster to the magnet. God, who could have forced himself on man, God, who could have

1. E. Y. Mullins, *The Christian Religion in its Doctrinal Expression*, P. 501-2.
2. Berdyaev, *The Destiny of Man*, p. 339.

forced heaven on man, graciously withdrew his omnipotence. And if man is free, and if the choice for God, the response to God, brings such a glorious destiny, what can the rejection of God mean but catastrophe? To resist Love is to project oneself into Hate, and hate has no place in heaven.

Again: the doctrine of the second destiny, the dark destiny, is the logical consequence of the laws of personality. We do not know a great deal about personal immortality, but the essence of the doctrine of immortality is that personality persists. Death does not destroy it. Now one of the vital laws of personality is the effect of repeated choice. Gilbert Chesterton tells the story somewhere that when a young student in Cambridge, one evening he overhead some other young collegians trying to persuade a friend of theirs to come with them. Chesterton said he never knew what devil's errand it was, but he remembered the young man's last word on it: "No, I can't go," he said. "If I go with you tonight I shall never again know right from wrong." Chesterton said that one remark was the turning-point of his own life. There was a point beyond which even that young man could see there was no returning. In the Bible we have the same sad story in many places, most dramatically told perhaps in the story of Pharaoh. Many readers wonder why God hardened Pharaoh's heart. A more careful reading discloses the fact that about nine times it is said, "Pharaoh hardened his heart," or "Pharoah's heart was hard," before it is said that God hardened his heart. There again is the blending of the natural, the psychological in this case, and the supernatural. God has written it as a law in our very nerve-cells that choices do have their effect. As William James put it, you may say another time doesn't count. Well, you may not count it, but nature counts it and God counts it. What we would express, perhaps, as Pharaoh's inability to break his habit of stubbornness, is put more dramatically and more truly in the Bible—God hardened the man's heart.

God's judgments are wrought through the laws of man's life. The man who has made for himself the habit of choos-

ing against God finds it at last impossible to change. One might ask a question here: Granted that a man through rebellion against God finds himself in hell, will hell not change his mind? My answer is: Yes, his mind; but not his heart. There is plenty of remorse in hell, the church teaches, but no repentance. That is to say, if one could imagine the pressure of hell removed, the man would be and do just as he did and was before. Repentance is not real unless it sticks when the pressure is off. The difference between hell and heaven is the difference in attitude to God. A man in hell might easily be tortured into submission, but not into love. What H. H. Farmer says of the threat of hell might be said with equal force of hell itself: "No shaking of (a man) over the pit would bring him to that change of mind, for it would be but another appeal to the very selfishness which is already blinding his eyes."[3]

The theory of one destiny—a blessed one, it goes without saying—has been held at various times in the past, but it has emerged in our times in a number of places. Three distinguished evangelical theologians who espouse this view are H. H. Farmer (British Presbyterian), N. F. S. Ferre (once a Baptist, now a Methodist) and (surprisingly) Karl Barth. They are all evangelical; that is, they acknowledge the seriousness of sin, and they accept and preach the same gospel as the main-line Christian church does. But when they look forward to the destiny of the race, they all envisage a final consummation in which every last member of the human race will finally have come home to God the Father. All men are immortal, none is to be destroyed or annihilated, all are finally to be won back to God. In Ferre's words, "The final destiny of man (is) to be with God and to share in his creative fellowship throughout all eternity."[4]

Ferre will not deny a hell of some sort, and a right severe one. Heaven is "forever barred to those who will

3. H. H. Farmer, *God and Men*, p. 133.
4. N. F. Ferre, *Christian Understanding of God*, p. 225.

not accept its conditions."[5] Hell is real. It is not heaven unattained, but heaven rejected. It is both the condition and the consequence of the unrepentant life.[6] There may be many hells.[7] Hell is not purgatory; purgatory is for the saved, while hell is for the unrepentant. Ferre even plays with the idea, something like that of C. S. Lewis, that hell and purgatory may be in the same place; that the good souls there will be missionaries to the evil ones. "What more opportunity could repentant love have than to work for those who are still lost?"[8] However, and this is the point for us, hell is not, according to Ferre, eternal. That is, he denies vigorously, not as a tentative suggestion, but as a strongly held article of faith, that there will be any irrevocable shutting-away from God. Hell, as he sees it, is the instrument of God's love. Eventually hell will have its perfect work. God will "put the screws on" the sinner hard enough to make him want to change his ways. This may take a longer time than we think, he says; this depends on the depth and stubbornness of our actual freedom, now and in the next life.

Ferre's reason for believing this is mainly a conclusion based on God's sovereign love. In contrast to Calvin, for whom God's basic nature is justice, Ferre insists that God's basic nature is love. This love is both omnicompetent and sovereign. It is unthinkable that such love can lose in the end, and hell, if it failed to bring all God's children back to him, would be a failure of love's last effort. Ferre agrees that God is just, but his justice is preliminary to the full operation of his love. Hell, in this view, is the operation of divine justice, not as a final and irrevocable sentence, rather as a remedial process by means of which the sinner is brought eventually to accept God's eternally offered love. "There are no incorrigible sinners. God has no permanent problem children."[9]

5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*, p. 229.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 230.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 232.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 219

Ferre, of course, has to answer the arguments for the two-destiny doctrine. On the question, What do the scriptures teach? Ferre points out that there are three strands of thought in the New Testament: one is that of an eternal hell (in which he admits Jesus may well have believed); one is that of the destruction of the wicked (admittedly the most usual New Testament view); and one is universalism. For this last view he cites "God is the Savior of all men" (I Tim. 4:10); "Every knee shall bow and every tongue confess" (Phil. 2:10); "God has shut up all unto disobedience that he might have mercy upon all" (Rom. 11:32). He might have added others, such as I Tim. 2:4—"God desires all men to be saved." Some of Ferre's scripture is not so well taken. He quotes "God's mercy is everlasting," but he does not quote the rest of that verse: "upon those who fear him . . . to those who keep his covenant." He also quotes "Love never faileth," but Paul surely cannot mean in I Cor. 13 that love always has its way; what he means is that genuine love does not wear away, in time or eternity. The advocates of a double destiny never question the unendingness of God's love; what they assert is the unendingness of resistance to it. But Ferre does not rest his case on texts, rather on the whole picture he sees in the New Testament, the picture of a God whose sovereign love cannot know final defeat.

If I understand Karl Barth (which I suspect I do not, as he has a way of taking back on one page what he said on the page before—the privilege of the dialectic theologian) while he disassociates himself from Origen, he still also (and surprisingly) teaches universalism, on the ground that in Christ and since Christ there are no rejected beings. All men are elect in him. He has linked the doctrine of salvation with the doctrine of creation, even asserting their identity. Brunner comments that Barth is strangely like Calvin for all his difference. If Calvin taught a double decree, namely that man's good destiny and his tragic destiny are both singularly and particularly ordained for each man, Barth teaches a single decree. Unlike Calvin he is

a universalist (or so Brunner fears); but like Calvin he is a supralapsarian. Just as for Calvin some men are foreordained to life and others to damnation, so in Barth all men are foreordained to life. They are saved in Christ whether they realize it or not. "Rejection cannot again be the portion and lot of man."[10] There is no condemnation to those that are in Christ; but all men are in Christ; therefore final condemnation does not rest on any man. This end of the godless they cannot attain, because it has been taken away from them in the Son of God's giving himself in the place of the ungodly. "The godless may run as far as they please; the state and lot of rejection which in their folly they desire with outstretched hands, as they reject God, they will definitely never attain."[11] We must never lose sight of the hope of future rescue at the brink of the rejected (*verworfen*) situation of the rejected. Brunner can hardly believe that Barth really means to be a universalist but sees that Barth is one all the same.[12] Brunner also observes that neither in Calvin's view nor in Barth's is any real freedom left to man.

H. H. Farmer is like Ferre rather than Barth, in resting his belief in universalism on the sovereignty and omnicompetence of God. "Christian faith requires that God's purpose should be victorious."[13] Barth, Farmer and Ferre alike find it inconceivable that God's purpose shall be defeated. Farmer and Ferre seem to stress more God's love, Barth God's irrevocable will. But if the will is to elect all men in Christ, and if the will is love, then if that will or that love is finally, incurably, irrevocably rejected, then God has suffered a defeat, and a final one. Farmer and

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10. "Es kann also die Verwerfun nicht wieder des Menschen Teil und Sache werden," *Dogmatik*, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 182.

11. "Sie (die Gottlosen) mogen laufen, soweit sie kommen: die Stellung und das Los der Verworfenen, nach welchem sie in ihrer Torheit die Hande ausstrecken, indem sie Gott verwerfen, werden sie bestimmt nich erlangen," *Ibid.*, p. 351.

12. Brunner, "The New Barth," *Scottish Review of Theology*, 1951.

13. Farmer, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

Ferre also doubt whether heaven could be heaven so long as hell was known not to be empty.

In arguing against the two-destiny doctrine, Farmer and Ferre take much the same line. Ferre is unfair, I think, to those who uphold the two-destiny idea, by ascribing to them motives of cruelty and pride. Granted, some have clung to the doctrine of eternal hell for bad reasons; this is not true of all its supporters, and a doctrine cannot be properly defended or attacked on the grounds of motives which may be alleged to influence its supporters. Both Ferre and Farmer up this question of freedom, and it seems to me both of them have to give it up, in spite of their statements to the contrary. On Farmer's view, every man who chooses good is virtually forced into that decision. He "can but choose"; the truth "cannot be resisted any longer."[14] The situation is one where the man can "do no other than surrender at the last." This is not a new idea, of course. It is found in many discussions of the relation between man's free will and God's control. God knows what will induce a man to act in the way God intends him to act; and so by his providence he sees to it that the man is brought into precisely the combination of circumstances which *will* induce him to act in that way. But this theory is compatible with the most rigid determinism. Indeed, determinism is the only hypothesis that will make it work. It is the all but mechanical stimulus-response theory of the conditioned reflex. It is psychological determinism. This kind of man, facing this kind of situation, is bound to act in this way. Cause and effect are linked in a steel chain. Nobody ever denied that men do what they choose to do. But it may be questioned whether this is real freedom. The only way to be sure that all men will at last accept God in love, is either by the way Barth prefers, an eternal electing decree, or in the way Ferre proposes, the eternal screws which may change a man's actions but not his consent, or by Farmer's psychological determinism. And all three of these proposals cut the ground out from under real freedom.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 171.

There is also the problem of urgency. Brunner in discussing this question finds this, I think, the most serious problem.[15] Universalism is too comfortable a doctrine. If all will ultimately be saved, why preach? Ferre replies that the doctrine of hell is existential, not explanatory. That is, the preacher can say, "Repent or suffer the consequence of hell"; but if asked what he really means, he will have to explain, "You will have the screws put on you till you finally surrender, and you will surrender. You will be saved eventually; but why be saved the hard way?" Farmer insists that our responsibility is to preach the gospel and leave the event with God. "The claim of my neighbor to my love, and God's claim on me through his claim meet me as soon as I encounter him and merely because he is there as a person; it is contingent . . . not in any way upon what may or may not be his ultimate destiny. The fact that God will ultimately save all, if it is a fact, does not absolve from responsibility in the matter."[16] In somewhat the same vein Barth says it is the believer's duty to proclaim to the unbeliever that Christ has died for his sins too, knowing that till the unbeliever believes he has put himself in a false position like a freed prisoner who refuses to leave his cell.

As to the teaching of the New Testament, Ferre admits that Jesus may have taught eternal hell, but thinks that if so, the higher teaching of God's love shines above all other ideas. Farmer also admits that Jesus spoke as if men might perish everlastingly; but says that the possibility of being lost does not mean that any one will be lost in fact.[17] Both Ferre and Farmer agree that the New Testament teaches that man has power "continually to resist God," but do not feel that the New Testament implies that this power will be exerted forever, against God's unceasing effort to win back every person he has created.

Well, it is time we looked at what we have to choose

15. Brunner, *Doctrine of God*, pp. 334f, 346f.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 174.
17. *Op. cit.*, p. 175.

between. There is no doubt in my mind, and I must leave it with you as a challenge and not as a comfort, that whatever doctrine seems true to you, you must admit that in choosing it you accept some unwelcome corollaries. Neither the one-destiny nor the two-destiny prospect is altogether what we could wish. But this is once when we cannot take both except in a sense I wish to explain before I close.

If you accept the idea of one destiny, of universal salvation, it means you give up the idea of freedom. Berdyaev, for all he misconceives what hell and salvation are, sees this point quite clearly. There can be no freedom which does not include the freedom of wrong choice. If you believe in true freedom, and if what you see of the human race here keeps on being characteristic of them in future frames of existence, then it is a rash hope that all men will eventually use their freedom in the right way.

Further, if you accept the idea of one destiny, you are going counter to the overwhelming testimony of the New Testament. I am not saying, because I do not believe, that the weight of evidence in the New Testament is on the side of an eternal hell, in the sense of everlastingly unending torture. I am not saying that God would deny to any person the opportunity to accept or reject him; whether that opportunity comes in this life or the next is not the point. The weight of the New Testament testimony supports the conviction that the choice for God or against him has eternal, that is to say irrevocable consequences, and that wrong choice can be both final and fatal.

On the other hand, if you accept the doctrine of two destines, you cannot be very happy with that either. You have to accept two unwelcome corollaries. One is that there is a tragic element in existence which is ineradicable. If you believe in hell, or for that matter even in an eternal limbo, then no matter how small a crack in the universe it may occupy and no matter how few persons may be there, in that one corner of the universe God's will is resisted, his love is spurned. Just as it takes something of the sunshine from the sky, for me, to know that in this lovely

commonwealth of Kentucky there are men and women behind high walls, under guard day and night, who hate us all; so it may take some of the sunlight from heaven to know that there is even one soul who simply will not have what heaven offers—who will be glad to enter heaven by any door except the only door there is—the gate of Mercy.

Further, if you accept the two-destiny doctrine, you will have to accept one of two other conclusions. You have to ask the question: If some men are not saved at last, does that defeat the purpose of God? Asking that inevitable question places you on the horns of a dilemma. If you say "Yes, the purpose of God is defeated," then you are admitting that God created some beings who not only could but will bring their creator to defeat. Or if you say, "No, God's purpose is not defeated," then you are over on Calvin's side—Calvin who believed that God's purpose from all eternity was to consign some of his own creatures to everlasting fire. God creates some men for salvation, said Calvin, and others he created for damnation. His purpose is never defeated; he decrees the sin, the rebellion, and the final fate, all in one decree. When God made hell, he already knew by name every one whom he would ever put into it. I say you must either join with Calvin in that dark belief, or you must agree that God sometimes meets eternal defeat, if you believe in both the bright and that dark destiny of man.

Now Ferre says a most suggestive thing when speaking of the New Testament evidence. He says it may be a very good thing that there are three different strands of thought in the New Testament; it is quite possible that God did not want us to be too cocksure about destiny, as if it were in our hands, not his. So it is not with brash assurance, and not even with the thought that it is quite orthodox, that I offer the nearest thing to a synthesis that is possible with these two really incompatible views.

First, I suggest that in God's first intention, the destiny of man is One. God made us for himself, he desires not the death of a sinner, he desires that all men shall be saved.

I take that seriously. As my church expresses it, the chief end of MAN, not some men but all men, is to glorify God and enjoy him forever. I repudiate Calvin's idea absolutely, for Calvin without realizing it placed evil at the center of the universe itself, in God's very will.

But I also believe that man was created free and still has some measure of freedom. I do not know whether any other creature in this or any other universe was ever free. I do believe that man is free. Against all the determinists, outright or cryptodeterminists, fatalists, psychological, economic or theological determinists, I am bound to believe that man has some real freedom. I do not know how to reconcile this with the idea that God renders certain all events, from all eternity; but I can well reconcile it with the idea of God's sovereignty. I believe that a man's freedom, wrongly used, can defeat God's purpose *for him*; but I believe that God is too great to be finally defeated even by the most stubborn man. God may have limited himself so as not to infringe upon any man; he will not take back what he has given. In one real sense God is not defeated, for it was and is his purpose that man should *be* free. But if Love is the center of the universe, and Love is the law of life both for God and for man, then those who live by any other law are going against the grain of the universe, and will learn that living by any other law means death.

In the story of the Last Judgment, the only one told by Jesus, we hear the Judge saying to those on his right, "Inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world." But to those on his left hand he says, "Depart into the eternal fire which is prepared for the devil and his angels." Note: the kingdom—prepared for you; the fire —prepared not for you but for the devil and his angels. Those who find themselves in hell, find themselves forever out of place. Over hell's gate might be written: "Here are men whom God would have welcomed to heaven, but who finally preferred their own way." And over the gate of heaven could be inscribed: "Here are men who deserved hell but entered here because they accepted the mercy of God."

ELECTION IS BASED ON FOREKNOWLEDGE

BY JOHN W. COBB

Perhaps theologians will never see eye-to-eye on the subject of election. It is a subject that needs a fresh statement for every new generation. Though nothing that is really new may be added, yet the thought-forms, and the combinations of thought-forms, may have at least a modern expression, and such modern expression stirs new thinking—that is the only justification for this paper.

Man Is Free

As a psychological experience, man is free. He is conscious of his own choices. He struggles between alternatives, and he finally makes a decision. The decision he makes may be of a deliberative type, or it may be of a subconscious type—he may reason it out or he may just suddenly find himself with the answer. Even after a decision has been made, experience may alter or even reverse the decision. But in it all the one most evident fact is that the man himself is doing the deciding. Man realizes freedom.

The Scriptures support the idea of man's freedom. Jesus wept over Jerusalem because of the stubbornness of her people—"how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathered her chickens under her wings, *and ye would not.*"[1] As he pleaded with the people who were burdened with sin and despair, he cried: "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."[2] The "whosoever will" passages in the Scriptures are abundant,[3] and each one emphasizes the freedom of man to make his own choices.

If man is to be liable for judgment then he must be free in his choices; otherwise, judgment would be unjust. Righteousness is a part of the very nature of God. His

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1. Mtt. 23:37b.
2. Mtt. 11:28.
3. Mk. 8:34; Mtt. 10:33, 50; Lk. 12:8; Jno. 3:15, 16; 11:26; Acts 2:21; 10:43; Ro. 10:11, 13.
4. Ro. 2:2, 3, 5; 14:10; 2 Co. 5:10; 2 Th. 1:5; Heb. 9:27.

righteousness demands that he deal justly with all of his subjects. The Scriptures reveal that man is to be brought before God in judgment.[4] That being the case man must be responsible for what he does.

God created man in his own image,[5] which certainly has the element of self-direction. We must admit that man's freedom is not as great as that exercised by God, for man is confined to his own nature and to his environment, which is limited. He cannot think beyond his own nature. In his depraved and sinful nature,[6] he cannot think righteously, neither can he behave righteously.[7] All of his thoughts and deeds are self-centered; though many of them may be on a much higher plane than the thoughts and deeds of some others, yet they are all conceived and motivated by a self-centered nature.[8] Man has brought all of this upon himself. Sin is deliberate and its consequences sure.

Though man is free, yet salvation is never attained by man. Left to himself man would never desire God's salvation. If he could create a salvation for himself he would do it. This is evident from pagan religions. Paul accused the Jews of not desiring the righteousness of God but going about to establish their own righteousness.[9] Even repentance and faith are the gifts of God,[10] yet they are real experiences of man and the very basis of regeneration. If man makes a choice that is wholly his, relative to God's righteousness, while still in a state of unbelief, it is simply to stop fighting against God; for unbelief is not passive but aggressively active. Conviction of sin, wrought by the work of God,[11] is man's final battle against God and for self. Once man gives up his fight God grants him repentance and faith; they are gifts of God and yet real experiences of man. Man possesses them although he does not bring them about. He cannot be saved without these gifts and he can-

5. Gen. 1:27.
6. Ro. 5:12.
7. Ro. 8:5-8; Tit. 1:15, 16.
8. Heb. 11:6.
9. Ro. 10:3.
10. Acts 5:31; 11:18; 2 Ti. 2:25; Eph. 2:8.
11. Jno. 16:8.

not attain the gifts without the power of God. Once he realizes he has repented of his sins and has placed his faith in Christ his first unpremeditated thought is to thank God for them. If he had attained repentance and faith by himself he would have boasted about it.

God Knows

If one decision, of any one man, is withheld from God, then we must say that the decisions of all men are withheld from him. And if this were the case God would have subjected himself to the decisions of men, and thereby have to wait upon them before he could determine his own goals. But a limited God ceases to be God. God is omniscient, omnipotent and omnipresent. Being omniscient he can know the thoughts and decisions of free men. He can know the thoughts and decisions of men without determining them. He can know them as free acts. This is a necessary premise to God's omniscience. If these statements seem to be arbitrary let us subject them to the Scriptures for practical tests.

Each of the Gospel writers told about the soldiers gambling for the seamless garment they removed from Jesus when they crucified him.[12] This they declared to be the fulfillment of the prophecy of Psalms 22:18. If this act of the soldiers did in fact fulfill a prophecy made hundreds of years before, then it is necessary to conclude that God, who gave the prophecy through the human agency —the Psalms writer—knew what men, even wicked men, would decide to do, and he knew the circumstances under which they would make this or that decision. If he knew one act of free men, he knows all acts of free men. Take another incident of like nature. The soldiers who examined the crucified Christ decided not to break his legs, though it was their habit to do so before allowing the criminals to be taken down from the cross.[13] God had foreseen that decision for hundreds of years.[14] One other illustration will

12. Ro. 10:3.
13. Jno. 19:33, 36.
14. Ps. 34:20.

suffice: the case of Judas. Jesus recognized the freedom and responsibility of Judas in the betrayal.[15] And yet God knew Judas' decision hundreds of years before he was born.[16] God did not pre-determine Judas' decision, but he did foreknow it, and made his own plans in the light of it. The decision of Judas was a part of a total situation—the current belief about the Messiah and the Kingdom of God, the dominance of the Roman government, etc., but God knew all of this. He did not know the decision of Judas unrelated to the total situation.

Foreknowledge, therefore, becomes the very basis of election. If one raises the question as to what God foresees in a man, that causes him to elect that man to salvation, let it be said that God sees everything. However, we do believe the Scriptures warrant us saying one thing in particular is always before God, namely: his glory.[17] Perhaps we would be right in saying that God has elected to salvation every person that could be saved to the glory of God.

God Foreknows Those Whom He Saves

Again we must rely upon the trustworthiness of the Scriptures to prove this point. Reason might easily sidetrack us. If one does not believe in the inspiration of the Scriptures there remains little ground for argument on this subject.

"According as he has chosen us in him before the foundation of the world."[18] The revealing word in this phrase is "chosen" which in Greek is in the middle voice. The middle voice helps us to see that those who were chosen were chosen wholly for the sake of the one doing the choosing. This is the same word that is used in Luke 6:13 where the evangelist tells of Jesus choosing the twelve apostles. He chose the twelve from among the many. What he saw in them, that caused him to choose these particular men, is not revealed, but it could be said that he chose them for

15. Jno. 13:10, 11, 18, 26, 27.
16. Ps. 41:9.
17. Eph. 1:6.
18. Eph. 1:4.

his own purpose. So it is not difficult to put the interpretation on this passage from Ephesians, that God chose those whom he would save before he created the universe, and that he created and guides all things towards the one end he has set for himself, which end demands the salvation of those particular individuals he purposed to save.

"For whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate. . . . Moreover whom he did predestinate, them he also called: and whom he called, them he also justified: and whom he justified, them he also glorified."[19] Here are five timeless constative aorist verbs. Based on his foreknowledge he could mark them out before time. Those whom he has foreknown, with a purpose to save, will heed the gospel invitation. Many may hear but only they will heed. His calling is as sure as his foreknowledge. There may be, and the Scriptures would justify us in saying there will be, tremendous struggles in the saving process, both on the part of God and on the part of man—those evangelizing and those being evangelized—but victory is sure. This concept forms the ground for the most vigorous, relentless, positive and aggressive missionary and evangelistic effort possible on the part of God's children. We do not know whom God has chosen, but we can know that he will effectively call those whom he has chosen. So we preach, and pray, and testify with dauntless courage. Paul faced almost unbearable difficulties in preaching at Pisidian Antioch, but we have this victorious note, "and as many as were ordained to eternal life believed."[20]

Paul had to face the dilemma the Jews found themselves in as the Gentiles took the lead in Christianity. "I say then, Hath God cast away his people? . . . God hath not cast away his people which he foreknew."[21] He appealed to the purpose of God in salvation to justify Gentile conversion. God had chosen the Jewish race for a purpose, but he had fulfilled that purpose—the bringing of Christ into the world for redemption. But God was still saving

19. Ro. 8:29, 30.
20. Acts 13:48.

even those like himself, a Jew, a rabbi, a self-righteous man, because he had marked him out for salvation from eternity. God still had a "remnant" among the Jews, "according to the election of grace."[22]

Paul had not overlooked the struggle God had with him, or others, in bringing about a state of "conviction," but he did believe that God would bring all of his chosen to that place. This is about what Peter expresses when he says: "Elect according to the foreknowledge of God the Father, through sanctification of the Spirit."[23] The presence and power of the Holy Spirit accomplishes the eternal purpose of God.

Extreme Views Untenable

There are two extreme views of election. The first may be stated about like this: In Christ's death God provided salvation for everyone who would accept, and as one accepted he was thereby elected. This view has the virtue of stating the universal nature of the atonement of Christ, which view the Scriptures support,[24] and it infers the universal love of God,[25] and it definitely teaches that God will save everyone who believes in Jesus Christ.[26]

This view faces some serious objections. First, it limits the knowledge of God. As we have pointed out above the Scriptures teach that God not only provided salvation in Jesus Christ, but he knew beforehand just who would accept it. If such foreknowledge be denied God, then he must wait upon the development of history to see whether things are coming out right or not. The second objection to this view is that it leaves the initiative in salvation up to man, except for the fact that God provided salvation in Christ. Our contention is that it is not enough simply for God to provide salvation, he must also bring about a desire for salvation in the hearts of those he saves. Without God

21. Ro. 10:1, 2.
22. Ro. 11:5.
23. I Pet. 1:2.
24. I Jno. 2:2; I Tim. 2:6
25. I Tim. 2:4; II Pet. 3:9.
26. Jno. 1:12.

taking the initiative in individual salvation there would not be a single person saved. The sinful nature of man causes him to rebel against God.[27] Left to himself man would never believe in Jesus Christ.[28] The third objection to this view is that it makes election human rather than divine, and temporal rather than eternal. If the Scriptures teach anything they teach that election is up to God.[29] Though we might not be able to prove that God's purpose to save certain individuals was not due to something he saw within those individuals, it yet remains that God did his own electing and knew from the beginning who would be the recipients of his grace.

On the opposite side of the view stated above is another extreme view which is equally untenable. This view might be stated in this manner: God elected certain individuals to be saved without regard for human freedom. The supporters of this view declare that the grace of God is irresistible, therefore God can save any man that he determines to save. Such view involves the entire nature of God. Will God abuse the freedom he has given man? Such view also involves gospel agencies. Are these to be used to appeal to man? As usually explained, this view also involves the nature of the death of Christ. Did he die just for the elect?

We have set forth in our discussion above the middle point-of-view, which seems to satisfy the initiative of God and justify the freedom of man. God has foreseen those who could be saved to his glory, and he set out on an eternal purpose to save them. In accomplishing his purpose he never abuses what he originally put in man. As the gospel agencies are brought to bear upon a group of people, some will react to them as "stumbling blocks" and others as "foolishness," "but unto them which are called . . . Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God."[30]

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27. Ro. 8:7.
28. Jno. 6:44.
29. Jno. 15:16; Acts 13:48; Ro. 8:29, 30; 9:11; 11:2, 5, 7; Eph. 1:4; I Th. 1:4; I Pet. 1:2; II Pet. 1:10.
30. I Co. 1:23.

HOW DID EXISTENTIALISM BECOME ATHEISTIC?

BY R. F. ALDWINCKLE

The purpose of this paper is to examine the somewhat curious outcome of Kierkegaard's thinking in the atheism of man like Sartre, and to consider the validity of those thoroughgoing criticisms of reason and its function which are to be found in many different thinkers. If the claims of the modern existentialists are justified, then we must renounce once for all any attempt to construct a rational theology of any kind. Not only must we abandon all that goes by the name of natural and philosophical theology. We must also abandon the attempt to find any intellectual coherence even in the fundamental affirmations of the Christian gospel itself. This is not a situation to be accepted with equanimity, even if it appears to be endorsed by some of the most notable living theologians.

Existential "philosophy" would appear to be a specifically German creation, but its roots lie deeper than the reactions of any particular nation. It is part of a general revolt against an excessively intellectualized understanding of human life and its meaning. It means the calling of men back to existence, and by existence is meant our experience of human life and its totality with all its stresses and strains and its inevitable decisions. The bane of intellectualism is to toy with ideas and play with religion and philosophy, but to remain essentially a spectator, uncommitted on the vital issues. In actual life, however, such an attitude is well nigh impossible. Love, death, suffering, fear, constantly challenge and force men to abandon their neutrality and engage their total personality in some decisive act of choice. In this broad sense, every vital thinker has been existential in that he has called upon men to think seriously and deeply about the fundamental issues of life and make up their minds where they stand. Hence we find Berdyaev saying: "Among the number of existentialist philosophers we may count St. Augustine and Pascal, in a sense Schopenhauer and Feuerbach, Nietzsche and Dostoievsky. But Kierkegaard was the most significant exponent

of this philosophy."[1] It is doubtful whether the term existential can be considered very useful or illuminating if it is used in this very broad sense, though Kierkegaard claimed the authority of Socrates and Heidegger, it would seem, acknowledges his close relation to Aristotle and Kant. These thinkers at least do not seem to regard themselves as putting forward an absolutely new and original mode of thought. This would imply that there has always been an existential element in philosophy, even when it has not been known by this name. Tillich traces the development of existentialism from the early 19th century from Schelling through Feuerbach and Marx and Kierkegaard. The philosophy of Nietzsche, Dilthey, Bergson, and even William James with the emphasis on the reality of the immediately experienced is included in this development.[2] Husserl's phenomenology, the rediscovery of Kierkegaard, the influence of Marxian communism all flow into the common stream, fertilizing modern thought in many different fields. Within the recent modern period, however, there seems to have become manifest a definite cleavage between those whose existentialism leads them to embrace some form of Christianity, and those who are led to repudiate it completely. Jaspers, Marcel, Barth and Brunner are all Christian and have been influenced by the existential mode of thinking, even if the two latter would refuse to regard themselves as existentialists in the strict sense of adhering to a philosophy of that name. On the non-religious side is Heidegger, though some would question the justice of thus placing him. It seems clear that he has gone very far in giving up anything that could be called orthodox Christianity. The French novelist Jean-Paul Sartre is perhaps the best known among the non-philosophically minded public.

We shall begin here with Soren Kierkegaard, a study of whom is indispensable to a true understanding of modern

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1. Berdyaev, N. *Solitude and Society*, p. 37.
2. Tillich, Paul. "Existential Philosophy" (*Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. V, No. 1.) "The Meaning of Existentialism" (*Christianity and Society*, Vol. XV, No. 1).

existentialism, however remote the philosophy of a Heidegger or a Sartre may appear to be from that of the great Christian Dane of the 19th century. Little emphasis will be laid here upon the personal biography of S. K. and the tragic breakdown of his love affair with Regina Olsen. There is a certain kind of shallow critic who is more interested in psycho-analysing Soren Kierkegaard than giving a fair hearing to his ideas and judging them on their merits. It would, of course, be absurd to suggest that Kierkegaard's thinking was not in any way shaped by his personal experiences, but the truth of his ultimate attitude cannot be decided simply in terms of psychology.

The spiritual climate of the world in which Soren Kierksgaard lived was the result of two major influences—romanticism and philosophical Idealism. German romanticism was a protest against the arid and utilitarian rationalism which had been popularized by the Enlightenment. "They (the Romantics), no more than their predecessors, denied the conquests of science; they claimed simply that theoretical reason is not the only instrument which man has at his disposal to grasp reality."[3] As against the 18th century love of the clear, the precise, the rationality of cool commonsense, romanticism was allured by the infinite and the non-rational. The mysteriousness of great passion, of mystic rapture, of the elemental forces which sometimes come to titanic expression in human life, all this came to exert a great fascination over souls starved by the prevailing rationalism. Soren Kierkegaard heard Schelling lecture against the Hegelian system in 1841-2, but was soon disillusioned with his approach to the fundamental problems of existence.

The other great influence finds its most significant embodiment in Hegel (1770-1831). A contemporary of Schleiermacher at the University of Berlin, Hegel found it impossible to sympathize with the great theologian's insistence that the core of religion is to be found in the feeling of

3. Henri Lichtenberger quoted by Patrick, Denzil, *Pascal and Kierkegaard*. Vol. II, p. 13.

absolute dependance. Feeling for Hegel is the lowest stage of self-consciousness and not to be compared with the nobler reason. Thought arrives at truth by an onward movement in which opposites are reconciled. Thesis, antithesis, synthesis—this is the dialectic by which reason works, and it holds good not only for thought but for being. This is not only the way in which history develops, for history itself is the unfolding of the dialectic of the Absolute Reason or Spirit or Idea. As a defence of a spiritual interpretation of reality over against materialism, whether crude or refined, Hegel's system may be taken as containing elements of permanent value. It is in his treatment of Christianity in particular that Christians at least will feel his pitiful inadequacy, and it is at this point that Hegel's system provoked such a passionate reaction from Kierkegaard. The essential points in the Hegelian understanding of Christianity may be summarized as follows:

(i) The finite spirit's consciousness of God or Infinite Spirit may be analyzed into three elements—feeling, imagination and thought. The stage of feeling is the lowest form of man's response since it is undifferentiated and lacking clear self-consciousness. The great historic religions belong to the stage of the imagination. Religion is now conscious of itself as possessing universal truth and a claim on all men, but it is still picture-thinking, man's imaginative response to the universe. Its thought is pictorial, symbolic, allegorical, finding expression in anthropomorphic forms. Religion must therefore, if it is to survive, allow itself to be absorbed by the third stage, that of thought. The content of the imagination is now dissolved into its elements and rearranged by the intellect. Self-conscious, mediate knowledge replaces immediate knowledge of feeling and imagination. Religion, and Christianity in particular, must allow itself to be transformed into philosophy which will preserve in higher form all the essential elements of truth contained in the picture thinking of the previous stage. Jesus stands as a useful symbol of the reconciliation of finite and infinte, but He is not absolutely essential.

(ii) The second assertion is that God only comes to full self-consciousness in the finite. The idea of God existing in the fullness of His own life, even without man and the universe, which is implicit in orthodox Trinitarianism, is replaced now by the idea of God realizing Himself through the process. "God is God only in so far as He knows Himself; His self-knowledge is His self-consciousness in man, is the knowledge man has of God, which advances to God's self-knowledge of man."[4]

(iii) Since the dialectic is continually resolving the opposites into higher reconcilations, sin itself becomes not only a means to virtue and a higher good, but a necessary and inevitable stage. This comes in for some devastating criticism in Soren Kierkegaard's Concluding Unscientific Postcript in which he shows how the world-historical view i.e. Hegelianism abandons and destroys true ethics. The late H. R. Mackintosh remarked that in Hegel the Greek spirit had completely triumphed over the Hebrew, that intellectually Hegelianism was on too easy terms with the deity, and that this interpretation of religion only reinforces the conviction of the "impotence of man to force his way through to the presence of God by the power of the speculative reason."[5] Soren Kierkegaard anticipated these criticisms and added to them his own profound belief that Hegelianism destroyed the individual, his ethical responsibility, his personal relationship to God, and swallowed him up in a vast historical process working out its course according to a mechanical dialectic which left no room for a proper treatment of the real problems of human existence. Hence "existential" is the antithesis of such academic juggling with realities, most fantastically exemplified in Hegel. It was in reaction to the System, therefore, that Kierkegaard worked out his own conclusions in regard to the nature of human existence and destiny.

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4. Hegel, *Encyclopadie* s. 565 cf. Mackintosh H. R., *Types of Modern Theology*, p. 103.

5. Mackintosh, H. R., *Types of Modern Theology*, p. 117.

It is no exaggeration to say that the discovery of Soren Kierkegaard has burst upon the modern world, especially in the Anglo-Saxon countries, with something of the force of a revelation. After being neglected in the 19th century and later, except in Germany where he was early translated but where his influence was diminished by the prevailing strength of philosophical idealism, he has now come into his own in a remarkable way. As far as the Anglo-Saxons are concerned, the knowledge of Kierkegaard belongs to the last generations, and one might say to the last few years during which his works have been translated into English, thanks to the labours of Prof. Swenson and Prof. Lowrie. The problem of vocabulary at once confronts any student of Soren Kierkegaard and the meaning of certain terms must be clarified before it is possible to get a clear idea of what the debate is about.

Existence, from which we get the adjective existential, is a term used to describe a type of response to life which is the very antithesis of the academic or purely intellectual view of a question. Existential moments are moments of choice which determine the whole of one's being and destiny. The choice of a career, or a mate or a faith are such decisive choices which involve the whole man. To think existentially is to think, not as a spectator of the ultimate issues, but as one vitally concerned. It is thinking moulded by life rather than abstract speculation. Hosea, tortured by the infidelity of his wife whom he still loves, and struggling through to a deeper understanding of God's love for his people, presents us with existential thinking. Pascal is making the same emphasis when he affirms that no man is saved by "le dieu des savants et des philosophes," but only by the living God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, at last incarnate in Jesus Christ. Those thinkers who have won their way to truth through spiritual agony could all be called existential in this sense. Mention may be made at random of men like Jeremiah or St. Paul from the Bible, or Spinoza and Nietzsche outside the Christian tradition.

Another word which plays an important role in Soren

Kierkegaard's thinking, and is linked with this dynamic notion of existence, is the word "paradox" used to indicate that which is contrary to appearance, plausibility or probability. In seeking to find an answer to the existential questions, his relation to God, the possibility of his eternal happiness, man inevitably finds himself confronted with truth in the form of paradox, truth which cannot be demonstrated by the ordinary canons of logic or by the usual plausible arguments of everyday discourse. Spiritual truth which really meets man's need cannot be contained in any neat intellectual formula. The supreme example of paradox is the Christian doctrine of the God-Man, the Incarnation. Reason boggles at the idea of Eternity entering time, of the Infinite God being present in human form. It runs counter to all that commonsense or philosophical speculation might expect. This is the supreme example of paradox when man begins to face life existentially.

A third word which needs most careful attention is "subjective," and the noun "subjectivity." By the use of this word, Kierkegaard did not mean thinking in bondage to personal feeling or prejudice. As a coal-miner, my political thinking may be influenced by my class prejudice and feeling that the "Boss" can never be trusted to give me a square deal. As a coal-owner, I may be equally persuaded that my own personal freedom and financial interests will be jeopardized if those miners get any more influence than they already have. Hence a strongly subjective factor in both cases will enter into one's political thinking, irrespective of the nature of the problem under discussion. Again and again we see the personal equation entering in and warping the judgment of men and women on a particular topic. Now this is not what Soren Kierkegaard meant by subjectivity. The word takes on its meaning by way of contrast with the Hegelian system. Hegel laid great stress upon objectivity of thought, by which he meant that our thinking be personally disinterested. We must eliminate the personal equation, our personal hopes and fears and try to reach "objective truth." We think of this as the

distinctive mark of true science. The biologist must not allow any preconceived ideas about life to prejudice him in any conclusions he draws. He must sit down patiently before the facts like a child and follow the truth there revealed to him, however unpleasant it may be and however much it may run counter to his previous ideas. Now this effort after "objective truth" may be in order in the field of natural science; it is a hopeless method and a fatal hindrance, however, when questions concerning man's eternal destiny and existence are at stake. How can a man hope to arrive at truth in religion or morality by such neutrality? It is absurd to pretend to such a cool detachment. The "subjective existential thinker" is passionately concerned about these questions; the answers to them are for him matters of life and death, because he is not toying with them in a spirit of intellectual detachment. He is going to stake his whole existence on the conclusions he reaches.

Another feature of Soren Kierkegaard's thought, already implicit in what has been said, is his drastic criticism of speculation, sometimes called the "System," by which he meant the philosophy of Hegel. Hegel is the object of his most virulent attacks because he happened to be the contemporary embodiment of the reason's proud attempt to give a complete and coherent account of reality. Now Kierkegaard denounces this attempt of the human reason as essentially presumption and futile egoism. The human reason can never hope to give a satisfactory account of human existence. It cannot explain freedom or the element of contingency in the world. Still less can it explain evil and sin. Finally it cannot prove or explain or tie up God in a formula. There are aspects of existence which are quite opaque to rational thinking. The mind simply cannot make sense of them in rational terms. Hence Kierkegaard offers scraps of philosophy, fragments as he calls them, not a system. It must not be assumed at once that Soren Kierkegaard has no use for philosophy. "All honour to philosophy," he writes, "all praise to everyone who brings a genuine devotion to its service. To deny the value of speculation (though one

might wish that the money-changers in the forecourts of the temple could be banished as profane) would be, in my opinion, to prostitute oneself."[6] By all means, enjoy the pleasures of philosophical speculation, if that is your taste. Indeed, a profound study of philosophy, and especially of such thinkers as Socrates, may help to create that attitude of wise "ignorance" which is the beginning of true wisdom. Do not, however, imagine that philosophy will get you anywhere as far as the existential questions are concerned; still less do not imagine that your understanding of Christianity or of the nature of faith can be advanced by such activity. Despite the very real differences, the similarity may here be noticed between the thought of Soren Kierkegaard and Bergson's attack upon the intellect as by its very nature unfitted to understand life. The intelligence has developed in the course of the biological struggle for existence, and is a useful instrument for enabling man to deal with his natural environment, hence it is at home with physical objects, with solids and the world of the inanimate. To understand life, however, one must have recourse to intuition defined as follows: "On appelle intuition cette espece de sympathie intellectuelle par laquelle on se transporte a l'interieur d'un objet pour coincider avec ce qu'il a d'unique, et par consequent d'inexprimable."[7] It would not be accurate to regard these two men as similar in their basic attitude to religion, but they both reveal a profound distrust of the intellectual as an instrument for grasping the true meaning of life. It is impossible to understand Kierkegaard or the later existentialists without first of all grasping this deep conviction of the essential limitations of the rational intelligence. Berdyaev means the same thing when he says: "Existential philosophy represents a mode of non-objective intellection."[8] Indeed, the highest act of reason is its recognition of the number of questions which surpass it and go

6. Kierkegaard, S., *Concluding Unscientific Postcript.* Trans. from Danish by David F. Swenson and completed by Walter Lowrie p. 54.
7. cf. Parodi., *La Philosophie Contempraine en France,* p. 255.
8. Berdyaev, N., *Solitude and Society,* p. 37.

beyond its competence. For Pascal too, "il n'y a rien si conforme a' la raison que ce d'esaveu de la raison." It is not surprising that Hegel's confidence in reason should have been peculiarly irritating to Soren Kierkegaard. "The idealist philosopher is playing with life and religion; he stands off with the detached curiosity of the theatre-goer to whom the issues of the drama on the stage matter much less than that he should catch his train. He is a spectator of history but hates taking sides."[9]

Hegel's philosophy would also seem to involve the assumption that the human spirit is identical with the divine, but this to Soren Kierkegaard was blasphemous nonsense. The individual man in the totality of his existence is anything but divine, even though he was made in the image of God. Now he is a confused, sinning, estranged soul seeking desperately for an anchor in the storm of life. He comments sarcastically on the poor philosopher or theologian who, having put down on paper some profound sentence as if he were the Infinite Spectator of all time and existence, must turn aside to sneeze.

It is impossible to convey at second-hand the force and passion of Soren Kierkegaard's writing. He was called the "accusing angel" of contemporary religion, whilst his shrewd and profound analysis of the inner life has caused his name to be linked with Augustine and Pascal as one of the greatest psychologists of the soul to be found anywhere in Christian history. This is seen in particular in *Stages on Life's Way*, published in 1845. Those familiar with Pascal's acute analysis of the mental state of the worldly man with his hatred and fear of boredom and his constant search for "divertissement" will immediately recognize in this work of Soren Kierkegaard's a similiar quality. He devotes the first part to a consideration of the aesthetic life. By using this word here, he is not thinking of the restricted use of today, namely the aesthetic appreciation of works of art, though that is included. The term is used to describe the natural man

9. Mackintosh, H. R., *Types of Modern Theology*, p. 227.

whose maxim is to savour the joy of life to the full. Enjoyment is the thing that matters most, whether it be the sensuous enjoyments of the body or the more refined pleasures of art and thought. Kierkegaard insists that there is an inherent instability in this kind of life, that it cannot satisfy the deeper needs of the soul, and that sooner or later such an "aesthetic" attitude to life brings a man to the point of satiety and boredom, and finally to despair. It is at this point that we discover the important role played in Soren Kierkegaard's thought by the idea of despair or dread. It is a kind of "sickness unto death" and everything depends on what a man does with it. The despair is linked with dread (German and modern Danish *Angst;* French *angoisse*). It is agonizing sense of horror when one feels oneself to be on the edge of the abyss. The awful prospect of spiritual futility and emptiness yawns before the soul. Life appears to be a tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing. This is the existential moment. How a man reacts to this state will determine his destiny, not only now but for all eternity. To those who declare that this is morbid and pathological, Soren Kierkegaard has his reply ready. Despite the brave face which men put on, there is no living person who has not some secret dread hidden away in the depths of his inner life, some gnawing doubt, some moral skeleton in the cupboard, some fear of the awful possibilities of evil as well as good which lurk in the depths of his heart.

Now this sickness of the soul, terrible as it is, may be the means to a man's final liberation and salvation. If, however, a man seeks to forget it by returning again to the aesthetic life, if he plunges again into the life of the senses, or even on a higher plane seeks to slake the thirst of his soul with poetry, music and intellectual delights, he has damned his soul and condemned himself to eternal frustration. The only hope for man now is to throw himself upon the infinite mercy and compassion of God in Christ and there discover his true existence. We may express the Kierkegaardian thesis in another way. Reason is powerless to supply life with meaning. Man, however, cannot live without some

illusion of purpose and meaning in his life. The counterpart in thinking to suffering on the bodily plane is despair. Existential philosophy is thought which gains certainty in and through such despair. Now in Soren Kierkegaard this certainty is gained through the soul's leap of faith across the abyss whereby it lays hold of the saving paradoxes of the gospel.

The term "existential" passed into current use from Soren Kierkegaard until it has now become part of our modern jargon. It is obvious from a study of Kierkegaard that for him at any rate, existentialism was a passionate attack upon Hegel in the interests of what he believed to be a true and vital Christianity. How is it that the term has now become associated with atheistic philosophy, or with literary coteries which could hardly be regarded as sharing Soren Kierkegaard's religious interest. (Only recently the French police raided and closed an existentialist club in Paris by the name of Tabou). How has it come about that Sartre, for example, can say: "Existentialism is nothing else than an attempt to draw all the consequences of a coherent atheistic position." Perhaps some answer may be obtained by asking with Paul Tillich whether there is any common feature in all the so-called existentialist thinkers, whether their reaction to Christianity be positive or negative. Tillich believes that there is, and that this common factor is their unanimous opposition to the "rational" system of thought and life developed by Western industrial society and its philosophical representatives. This "rational" system is open to attack on several counts.

1. Individual freedom, personal decision and organic community have been destroyed by a logical or naturalistic mechanism. This has found expression in the dominance of the machine and the crushing effects upon personal life of the industrial system. It is interesting to observe that whilst Soren Kierkegaard attacked Hegel for destroying the individual's personal relationship to God, Marx attacked Hegel for reconciling opposites in thought only but not in reality. The reality is social conflict, and the resolution is not to

come through some philosophical and therefore bogus synthesis but through violent revolution and class-warfare by which the synthesis will be reached in the classless communist state.

2. Analytic rationalism turns man into a mere "object" and destroys his real humanity. In the language of Martin Buber, it treats him as an "it" instead of a "Thou."

3. Secularized humanism, of which Marxism is the extreme expression, makes man the measure of all things and cuts him off from the creative source of true existence. All this, according to Tillich, has to be taken in the context of a widespread decay of the religious tradition on the continent of Europe, a decay which began with the 18th century Enlightenment and continued through social revolution and bourgeois liberalism. The Christian tradition had undoubtedly suffered through the influence of the Aufklarung. Faith was no longer a simple and unsophisticated response to divine revelation. It had to be won and held in the face of doubt and perplexity. To this was added the restlessness of the "uprooted" members of the new industrialized urban centres, and the frequent imminence of social revolution and disturbance. Meanwhile, utilitarianism and bourgeois liberalism had abandoned the transcendent reference implied in the religious tradition and believed it could make society anew through the operation of *laissez faire* and enlightened self-interest. In this context, says Tillich, "they (i.e. the existentialists) turned towards man's immediate experience, toward 'subjectivity,' not as something opposed to 'objectivity,' but as that living experience in which both objectivity and subjectivity are rooted."[10] He goes on to add the interesting comment that England is the only European country without an existentialist philosophy, and the reason he gives is that the religious tradition had not decayed so far and lived side by side with the new positivism in a community which was still truly organic. This strongly confirms the suggestion that modern existentialism is in large

10. Tillich, P., *Existential Philosophy*, p. 67.

measure the result of the disintegration of the Christian religious tradition and the inherited Christian attitudes and modes of behaviour.

Ever since the 17th century and what William Temple called "the Cartesian *faux pas*," the dualism between the thinking ego and the world of extension, between mind and matter, had become more and more accentuated. More and more did the mind seem to be shut up in its subjectivity, using the word now in the non-Kierkegaardian sense to indicate that which is by definition the opposite of the objective. There seemed to be an "objective world" composed of some indefinable and unknowable stuff upon which the mind imposed its categories. The beauty and variegated colors of the natural world, the intuitions of moral goodness, and finally even space and time came to be regarded as imposed by the mind upon this unknowable stuff. Man is now regarded as creating the world in which he lives by the power of his own subjective categories and valuations, but he can have no real confidence that this world is the real world. Hence the urge on the part of the existentialists to get back to a pre-Cartesian position before the consciousness of modern man was sundered in this tragic manner. The very phrase "existential philosophy" in itself shows how far Soren Kierkegaard has been left behind. For him, there could be no such thing, and he did not claim himself to be a philosopher. It is the mark of truly existential thinking not to be capable of being put into a system. "An existential system cannot be formulated. Does this mean that no such system exists? By no means; nor is it implied in our assertion. Reality itself is a System—for God; but it cannot be a system for any existing spirit."[11] Soren Kierkegaard does not deny that from God's point of view, the totality of events and created spirits may have a rational significance. Unlike some, such as Sartre, Kierkegaard did not claim that reality is through and through devoid of absolute standards, only that man is not in a position to work out a final system for

11. Kierkegaard, S., *Concluding Unscientific Postscript*, p. 107.

himself. It is this which leads Prof. De Wolf to comment that "in this one respect, Kierkegaard has in the name of revolt against reason been more rationalistic than have such 'rationalists' as Dr. Brightman. Kierkegaard at least believes that to God all is rational."[12]

How, then, did atheistic existentialism emerge from a movement of thought which in Soren Kierkegaard at least was of such a pronounced Christian character? It has already been noted that the crucial moment in human experience is that sickness unto death, that dread or anguish which confronts the man who has become aware of the insufficiency of the aesthetic life but has not yet advanced to the certainty of faith. This moment of crisis demands a decision or choice, but it need not necessarily be a Christian choice. Jean-Paul Sartre is not, of course, a philosopher in the usual sense of the word. His medium is primarily the novel and the drama, but he is concerned with the problem—granted that the universe is without point and purpose, how ought a man to behave in such a world? The issue is summed up in philosophic terms in the statement that "Existence precedes essence." By this is meant that man finds himself actually existing before he has answered or solved the problem as to what kind of person he ought to be. Those who have been influenced by Hebrew, Greek and Christian thinking tend to assume that human nature has a definable character, that man already has a specific nature by the very fact that he is man. For the Hebrew, this was expressed in the belief that man was made in the image of God. The Greek found the distinctive human features in man's rationality and freedom. Later Christian thinking combined these conceptions in its idea of rational and spiritual personality. According to this way of thinking, the human problem is for man to realize the full potentialities of his being. This may need divine aid for the restoration of the image regarded as defiled or corrupted, but it is assumed that man exists within a spiritual environment and that

12. De Wolf, Harold, *The Religious Revolt against Reason*, p. 185.

the fulfilment of his destiny consists in obedience to an objective moral and spiritual order to which man is akin through his conscience, his reason and his spiritual capacity. Now it is important to be clear that Sartre denies all these assumptions. In his lecture on Existentialism, he declares there is no human nature, since there is no God to conceive it. "The existentialist, on the contrary, thinks it very distressing that God does not exist, because all possibility of finding values in a heaven of ideas disappears along with Him; there can no longer be an a priori God, since there is no infinite and perfect consciousness to think it."[13] In his more ambitious attempt at philosophical exposition, *L'etre et le neant,* the same position is clearly enunciated. "It follows that my freedom is the sole foundation of values and that nothing, absolutely nothing, justifies me in adopting this or that particular value, this or that scale of values. As a being through which values exist, I am unjustifiable. And my freedom is anguished at being the unfounded foundation of values.[14] This means, then, that man is free in a sense quite different from that envisaged in the main stream of Western thought. Human nature is not fixed. There is no absolute standard as to what should be, since there are no absolute standards by which to measure what we do.

Perhaps the first reaction to this is to ask: why trouble to live at all? Why not commit suicide at once? That, says Sartre, need not follow. All it means is that man is free to mold himself to whatever pattern he chooses. "Man is nothing else than what he makes of himself." It is clear that we have travelled a long way from the faith of Kierkegaard. The word existential is now completely divorced from its Christian context and is simply used to designate man's act of freedom exercised in an absolute liberty unfettered by any absolute standards and conceptions. It is a great pity that the existentialism, which is now becoming popular,

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13. Sartre, *Existentialisme est un humanisme.* Trans. by B. Frechtman, p. 26.

14. Sartre, *L'Etre et le neant,* p. 76. Cf. Kuhn, *Encounter with Nothingness,* p. 157.

is that of Sartre rather than of Soren Kierkegaard. Kierkegaard too may be criticized for his one-sided attack upon the reason as an instrument for understanding the purpose of God for man, but he has some excuse by reason of the philosophical arrogance of a Hegel. Soren Kierkegaard still has a message that is relevant to an increasingly mechanized society. His defence of the individual against the artificial collectivities of human society is as valid as when first uttered. His clear insight that man's relationship to God is that which constitutes his greater dignity and the source of his deepest peace is in no way outmoded. The purely negative form of existentialism in Heidegger and Sartre is likely to disappear with the passing of the intellectual and social conditions which gave it birth. Helmut Kuhn in a brilliant study of the whole movement which shows real appreciation of the rediscovered insights due to existentialism, nevertheless makes the following striking comment: "The Existentialists take the road to Calvary. But arriving there they find the place empty except for two thieves dying on their crosses."[15]

It remains now briefly to attempt some evaluation of existentialism in relation to the conception of Theology previously outlined. That the attack upon certain kinds of intellectualism was and is justified, it would be difficult to dispute. The insistence that man is engaged with his whole personality in the business of living is undoubtedly true. Nor need the Christian have any qualms about the denial that the finite can ever turn itself into the Infinite or that the creature can ever see the world and its total meaning and significance with the clarity and fullness which can only belong to God Himself. Furthermore, if Theology aims at the same kind of "objectivity" which is the ideal of the natural sciences, it will inevitably fail to understand the data with which it has to deal. Man's own consciousness of himself as a person and an ethical agent is the indispensable starting-point for any thinker who hopes to understand and

15. Kuhn, Helmut, *Encounter with Nothingness.*

in part explain the nature of human destiny without explaining away those features which make man distinctively man. "Man is not merely a rational being, but he is nevertheless very profoundly rational."[16] To seek, therefore, some kind of intellectual coherence and rational significance amid the mysteries of faith can hardly be eschewed by any awakened mind. Indeed, the existentialists are capable of great intellectual activity and the writing of books of no mean size, even if their contention is that such intellectual activity is not in the last resort the path of wisdom. We may even seek, with Mr. Casserley, to put a flattering interpretation upon Sartre's dictum that "existence precedes essence" and regard it as a kind of defence of the uniqueness of each human person. Perhaps even Soren Kierkegaard may be pardoned for his extravagances when it is remembered that the immediate object of his attack was the arrogance and pretension of the Hegelian system. Kierkegaard also performed the useful service of preparing the way for a deeper understanding of history, regarded not as the necessary mechanical unfolding of a pattern conceived either in Idealist or material terms, but as the sphere of interplay of real personalities in whom is this capacity for a transcendent reference which links them not only to their fellowmen but to God. More than this, paradox is not merely a literary device but a "method of philosophical approach to the mystery of the Divine Being which must be set side by side with the traditional ways of negation and analogy."[17]

Yet when we have confessed our gratitude to Soren Kierkegaard for these by no means unimportant contributions, it must still be insisted, with Prof. D. C. Mackintosh, that "the vital thing in Kierkegaard's religion is not his irrationalism . . . His dualistic religious epistemology made the conclusion logical that objective religious knowledge was humanly unattainable. The way of subjective intuition and personal decision, indispensable as it is, was taken to be in

16. Casserley, J. V. L., *The Christian in Philosophy*, p. 151.
17. *Ibid*, p. 182.

itself sufficient, without further logical or philosophical systematization."[18] We do not have to choose between subjective intuition and the attempt to find rational coherence in our experience, including our religious experience. The fashionable strategy of trying to force men into a situation where they appear to have no option but to make an either-or choice is open to serious objection in some of its applications. It is legitimate to compel men to see that the Gospel demands of them an abandonment of a cowardly neutrality which is shirking the basic moral and spiritual issues. It is not legitimate to confuse this vital choice with another problem altogether, namely what are the limits of man's intellectual understanding. The existentialists, of course, are right in claiming that no finite creature can compass the whole of the divine Nature and make it completely transparent to the human intellect. Indeed, no considerable Christian thinker has ever believed that, and the great Christian minds of the past have possessed a reverent agnosticism in regard to many matters which they knew to be beyond human comprehension. Yet the fact that man cannot understand the totality as God does does not mean that he is quite incapable of discovering rational significance in his experience. "The consciousness of knowing little," said Paley, "need not beget a distrust of that which he does know."

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18. Mackintosh, D. C., *The Problem of Religious Knowledge*, p. 333.

RESOURCES FOR PREACHING

BY DAVID A. MACLENNAN

A young minister wrote from his first parish, "I fear nothing now except the preparation of sermons. The prospect of one each week, for an indefinite time to come is almost terrific."[1] The young man was the Reverend Ralph Waldo Emerson, and he made his candid confession one hundred years ago. To many present day pastors, the prospect of one new sermon a week for an indefinite time may not create fear; occasionally it produces despair, and often a feeling of perplexity. "What shall I preach next Sunday, and the next, and the next," is the dismal reiterated refrain. Sundays come with daunting regularity. The week is well-nigh over, the time of gleaning and organizing ideas is ended, and we are not ready. No Christian pastor need experience such dread. Never are we in the position of the distraught French government in the black year 1940. The enemy's blitzkrieg rolled relentlessly across their land. Prime Minister Churchill, aware of the desperate plight, asked, "Where are your reserves?" Back came the hopeless answer: "We have no reserves." But as members of the Lord's army, we have adequate reserves.

What are the resources of pastoral preaching?

Our chief resource is what a modern poet describes as "the ghostly member" of our team, the Holy Ghost, the great God of whose unfathomable love we have had rich experience. "To me, the very least of all his people (the most ordinary of all his preachers) this favor has been given, of preaching . . . the inexhaustible wealth (a more meaningful phrase than "the unsearchable riches") of Christ (Ephesians 3:8, Goodspeed.) William Butler Yeats was once asked, "How do poets make their verse?" He answered somewhat cryptically, "I made it out of a mouthful of air!" Where do preachers get their sermons? From what the uninitiated may think is the air; from the Spirit who leads us into all the truth we need "to make plain to all men the meaning of that Secret which He Who created every-

1. Rusk, *Life of R. W. Emerson*, pp. 138, 139.

thing in Christ has kept hidden from the Creation until now."[2] A modern French novelist, Valery, defined our primary source in these words: "The first word is sent from Heaven, the others have to be written."

Concerning other resources which the same Spirit leads us to find and utilize, the richest is the most familiar. A few years ago, the airwaves groaned under the lash of a song called "Mule Train." The author of the words showed one flash of insight into our stock of supplies: "There's a Bible in the pack for the Reverend Mr. Black." Let us trust that Mr. Black discovered it. In any Death Valley, it means life. To all preaching, it brings truth, authority, relevancy, unforgettable speech, color, and vitality. A lady from Boston was explaining that she never read the *Atlantic* magazine. "I only skim through it, just like the Bible." Evidently the lady did not read either the Bible or the *Atlantic* to get anything out of them, unless it was that respectable feeling a proper Bostonian likes to possess. At this hour, and in this company, no recommendation of the Scriptures as a resource for preaching is needed. Where else, within the covers of a book, may we obtain such incomparable knowledge of the heart of God and of the heart of man? The Bible is the Holy Spirit's favorite literary medium. It must be ours.

The late Peter Taylor Forsyth, no obscurantist in religion, said that the Bible is the preacher's charter. It is more. Next to the God who inspired its many writers and who seeks and finds the human soul through it as through no other book, it is a well-nigh inexhaustible source of sermon ideas, illustrations, and subjects. If a man is even slightly skeptical concerning this large claim, let him read a few pages in the *Interpreter's Bible,* and see what learned and homiletically skillful modern readers of the scriptures find in it. Reverent scholars continue to bring forth new findings from its pages. Christian theologians are increasingly biblical theologians who find the central doctrines of our

2. Ephesians 3:8b, *Letters to Young Churches*, J. B. Phillips, Macmillan Co.

faith implied and supported in its pages. To the contemporary fiction writer and playwright, the dramatic situations, the character delineations within the Book provide rich ore to be mined. To the wise preacher no less, the scriptures furnish not only authority for his words, not only memorable statements of relevant and dynamic truth, but life situations, similar to those which men and women of today confront. Here, for example, is a minister in one of our city churches who is haunted by the crowded loneliness of urban communities. Mobility, huge aggregations of heterogeneous atoms, the unimaginativeness of individuals concerning the plight of strangers, the other sociological and psychological factors of which social scientists speak— make loneliness more prevalent, deeper, and more desperate than it ever was in a more stable society. He wants to say something helpful to men who are homesick under the sun. He desires also to arouse his people that they may help to banish the solitariness which makes many sick. He reads part of the Joseph Saga in the closing chapters of Genesis. The poignant plea of the lonely Egyptian prime minister to his reticent and fearful brothers leaps out of the chronicle. This gives him text, and the text the key to the response Christians must make. "Come near to me, I pray you, I am your brother." Before he has finished the sermon which grows out of that text, he makes his people hear the Lord Christ Himself, the elder brother, make the same gracious entreaty. But had he not read again, imaginatively and with men and women he knows in mind, that preacher's sermon on and to "the lonely crowd" might have lacked much of its preaching power.

One of the most astonishing features of our scriptures is the way in which from them leap ever new insights and ideas. This is particularly true when familiar passages are read in new translations. You read Moffatt's version of the spiritual experience which came to the army captain, Cornelius, in Acts 10. "About the ninth hour of the day" is the King James and the Revised Standard Version rendering. Moffatt shows you the clock: "About three o'clock

in the afternoon he distinctly saw in a vision an angel of God entering and saying to him, 'Cornelius.' " Three o'clock on a hot afternoon in the East! Of all the unlikely times for a revelation! It is the dim hour, when the most we hope for is a pause that refreshes. Off your mind and imagination race to jot down thoughts about the dim hours in the day of our years, and of how, even at three p.m., a transforming spiritual experience may be ours. You read the Pauline epistles and come across such timely, and timeless words as these: "I shall do Christ credit by my unfailing courage" (Philippians 1:20b, Goodspeed). You intend to preach on variety in prayer, and Ephesians 6:18 in Goodspeed's translation gives you scriptural warrant and a sermonic diving-board: "Use every kind of prayer and entreaty, and at every opportunity pray in the Spirit. Be on the alert about it; devote yourselves constantly in prayer for all people." If you appeal for support of missionaries, look at the new translations of verses five through eight of the third letter of John. "They have started out for the sake of the cause . . . So we ought to support such men, to show that we are ready to co-operate with the truth." Moral fatigue is as fruitful a cause of defection as physical fatigue may be of infection. Paul rallies the Galatians with his counsel: "Let us not get tired of doing right, for at the proper time we shall reap, if we do not give out." (Galatians 6:9, Goodspeed). Could you not deliver a sermon on the atonement from the tremendous affirmation Paul made to the Romans (5:6): "For when we were still helpless, at the decisive moment Christ died for us godless men." A text for preachers and for many others who murder leisure hours comes in Moffatt's rendering of Colossians 4:5: "Let Christian wisdom rule your behavior to the outside world; make the very most of your time." A communion meditation suggests itself as you listen to our Lord's question to his betrayer: "My friend, what are you here for?" (Matthew 26:50, Goodspeed). Exasperation may be symptomatic of egotistical short temper; the New Testament speaks of another kind of exasperation which reveals a Christian temper:

"While Paul waited for them at Athens, he was exasperated to see how idolatrous the city was." (Acts 17:16). You may have discovered the fresh preaching values in J. B. Phillips' new translation of the New Testament Epistles, entitled *Letters to Young Churches,* (Macmillan, 1943). Christian solidarity is emphasized by Dr. Phillips' paraphrase of Ephesians 4:7: "we are not separate units but intimately related to each other in Christ." Advent comes, and Paul gives you the watchman's cry: "It is time to wake up to reality. Every day brings God's salvation nearer" (Romans 13:11). The apostle did not fear directive counseling: "Don't cherish exaggerated ideas of yourself or your importance, but try to have a sane estimate of your capabilities by the light of the faith that God has given to you all." (Romans 12:4). Earlier Phillips' version of Romans 12:2 sharpens the thrust against easy compliance with secular standards: "Don't let the world around you squeeze you into its own mould, but let God remould your minds from within, so that you may prove in practice that the Plan of God for you is good, meets all His demands and moves towards the goal of true maturity." Your sermon for Christian family day would prove arresting if only because of the text, if you used Phillips' for Colossians 3:18: "Wives adapt yourselves to your husbands, that your marriage may be a Christian unity. Husbands, be sure you give your wives much love and sympathy; don't let bitterness or resentment spoil your marriage. As for you children, your duty is to obey your parents . . . Fathers, don't over-correct your children, or they will grow up feeling inferior and frustrated." Does that not sound like modern marriage counseling? The perverse imp in me relishes the same scholar's version of Peter's admonition to his fellow elders: "You should not aim at being 'little tin gods' but as examples of Christian living in the eyes of the flock committed to your charge" (I Peter 5:4). From an English Methodist preacher comes this suggestion of using four texts for a sermon on Christ. These four judgments are four steps on the pilgrim's progress of thought: "He hath a devil and is mad," (John 10:20); "He is a good man," (John 7:12);

"Thou art the Christ," (Matthew 16:16); "My Lord and my God!" (John 20:28). Two texts can furnish the basis for a message on distress and deliverance: "Upon the earth distress of nations . . ." (Luke 21:25); "My peace I give unto you . . ." (John 14:27). An Oxford tradition recalls that, in the fifteenth century, a scholar—was he an absent-minded professor?—was walking in the woods reading Virgil, when he was confronted by a wolf. With rare presence of mind, he thrust his Virgil down the beast's throat and escaped unharmed. Sound learning has its uses outside the classroom in moments of crisis. When the wild beasts of secularism confront the preacher, he can do worse than to thrust the Book of books down their throats!

The Supreme Preacher, our Lord Himself, did not limit himself to the Bible. He did expound the scriptures on occasion. Lengthy, detailed exposition of ancient authorities He willingly left to the Scribes. He found much of what he needed for teaching and preaching in the persons He observed, in the events He witnessed in daily life.

He who spoke as never man spoke reminds us that one of the living resources for preaching consists of the world around us and the people that dwell therein. Is this not why "the common people heard Him gladly"? (Mark 12:37). They heard him with pleasure and deep satisfaction because He was so human, so aware of sights and sounds of everyday-flowers and birds, farmers ploughing, fishermen at their nets, housewives baking, children playing, salesmen in the stores, young people standing "on the verge of strife, magnificently unprepared for the long littleness of life." They understood what He was talking about. A reviewer of Bernard Shaw's book, *Everybody's Political What's What,* said something about the author that Shaw must have felt keenly: "His words do not reverberate in the reader's mind and heart after the book is done. He is not moved by Mr. Shaw because Mr. Shaw is not moved by him. Men to Mr. Shaw are not individuals, but component parts of a machine." For Christ and for Christ's preachers, men are individuals, not component parts of a machine or system or class. As

we love them in Christ and for His sake and theirs, their struggles and defeats and triumphs, their tragedy and their splendor, their plight and their possibilities give us clues as to the Word of God we must give them. Siegfried Sassoon, the poet, once said that after talking to Walter de la Mare, "One goes away seeing the world for a while with re-christened eyes." Jesus had that effect upon ordinary folk. He helps us to have something of that effect on our people. He saw people not so much as flagrant, sinful wretches, but as sick folk, as bewildered and lost. He loved them into health and clarity and joy.

Out of our pastoral care of persons will emerge the kind of pastoral preaching which will comfort the afflicted and, when necessary, afflict the comfortable. Out of our pastoral relationships will come more themes for sermons than there are available Sundays. In one month not noteworthy by reason of the number of pastoral calls made, I received insights which led to a series on Good News for the Lonely, for the Forgotten and Unwanted, for the Handicapped, for the Fearful, for the Anxious, for the Bereaved, for the Failures. A final sermon of the series inevitably presented the Good News for those who were oppressed by a sense of unforgiven sin.

Not only do persons in their known needs provide resource material for preaching, but so do the words they use, the slogans hurled at them, the myriad incidents and conversations an alert fellow-pilgrim overhears. One of tomorrow's preachers made an interesting and spiritually effective use of a billboard's invitation to passersby: "Take your troubles to Church. Millions leave them there." When his eyes rested on it, he had paused for the pedestrian traffic light to change from "Stop" to "Walk." Several motorists had halted, likewise. He wondered what each automobile driver in the procession thought about as he or she read those same words. There was a harassed looking middle-aged matron. She must have her quota of troubles; how would taking the gnawing problems to church help her? That teenager with his problems of storm and stress, born of older

adolescence; would he treat the suggestion with anything but skepticism? This tense looking executive staring impatiently at the traffic signal; would he ever seriously consider taking his business and personal problems to the Church of Christ, and to the Church's divine Head?

A professor of ethics, caught in a highway traffic "bottleneck," found himself behind a huge truck which had an unusual device painted on each side of its rear platform. Beneath an arrow pointing to the right was the word, "DOOM"! On the left-hand side, where a following car might pass with relative safety, was the word, "ZOOM"! A sprightly illustration of a serious Christian truth came from brief brooding on that mobile lesson in safe driving. Every day, and many decisions in every day, are fraught with judgment. "Doom" or "Zoom" is the choice God's free children confront.

As for current literature, non-fiction of the so-called secular variety frequently offers homiletic possibilities for the discerning reader. Reference has been made to Whyte's *Is Anybody Listening?* Evidence is presented pungently in this critique of current business methods of communication that non-conformity is unpopular but urgently needed. A pastor realizes afresh that many of his best people feel compelled to join in "Groupthink" rather than to think with Christian independence. He may find that the current social heresy of declining to be completely integrated with the group may be a Christian's duty. "Is anybody deviating?" may be a good question to face, and to help his laymen face, in the spirit of Him who said, "It was said of old, but I say unto you . . . " He may find the current discussion of adaptation to environment sending him back to the third chapter of Daniel and to Paul's unequivocal word in Romans 12, concerning nonconformity to this world.

Reading Sumner Welles' provocative survey of "Seven Decisions that Shaped History" impelled one pastor to plan a series of sermons on "Seven Decisions that *Shape* History." These resolved themselves in his mind into the following: (1) Choice of the Supreme Commander; (2) Choice of Ob-

jective and Master Plan; (3) Decision to Join the Active Force; (4) Decision to Use the Textbook of Strategy and Tactics; (5) Decision to Maintain the Lines of Communication; (6) Decision to Engage in Combined Operations; (7) Choosing the Field of Operations.

In modern fiction, spiritual voices may be heard. Some times your hearing must be extremely acute, but the voices speak. Titles may be deceptive. There was the priest who, with reddened face, returned his copy of James Jones' novel, saying that the title had misled him—*"From Here to Eternity."* The title and the story itself may have misled others. In the deservedly popular novel of the British navy, *"The Cruel Sea,"* there is a simple and moving illustration on the conquest of fear. It occurs in the conversation between the skipper of the corvette and his sailor son. In the American navy's corresponding number, *"The Caine Mutiny,"* a real problem for Christian ethics confronts the reader. Were the men who relieved the neurotic and cowardly skipper of their minesweeper right in finally agreeing that they were wrong in their action, and that the system was right? How far is a Christian man to go in group-integration? Is a person never to refuse adjustment to things as they are? Such questions deserve an answer, and the preacher can give it. He may find help in linking the Caine Mutiny with that other mutiny described in the book of Daniel, in which three young nonconformists listened to a higher drum than the majority marched to, and quietly said, "If not, we will not . . . " A sermon on the Cross may gain in depth as the preacher quotes the last lines of P'a'r Largervist's deceptively simple story of Barabbas.[3] Barabbas has been crucified. Dusk fell—all the other victims were dead—:

> Only Barabbas was left—hanging there alone, still alive. When he felt death approaching, that which he had always been so afraid of, he said out into the darkness, *as though he were speaking to it:* To Thee I deliver up my soul. And then he gave up the ghost.

3. Random House, 1951.

One editor of a secular magazine, in mentioning this stark conclusion to the Nobel prizewinner's novel, observed that Barabbas' action focusses the problem everyman today must settle. Is there anybody in the darkness to whom a man can speak? Is there anyone there to whom a soul can commit itself?

Older novels may provide what will be a new window for moderns, through which to look at eternal things. Take *John Inglesant* as an example. In that once famous story, determined effort was being made by his enemies to destroy the hero's soul. A week's program was devised to accomplish his undoing. The evil conspirators overlooked one fact: each morning of that week, Inglesant received Holy Communion. When the collapse was expected, the young man went safely through the crisis. The author gives the secret: "It is not so easy to ruin him with whom the pressure of Christ's hand still lingers in the palm."

Two years ago, a collection of *Letters of Charles Lamb* was published[4]. Included is the letter written five days after his mentally ill sister Mary had taken the lives of her parents. Lamb wrote to Coleridge: "Thank God I am very calm and composed, and able to do the best that remains to do. Write, as religious a letter as possible" (p. 27). What good would religion do in the face of such a domestic and personal tragedy? In another letter, Lamb had written these words: "Hope is a charming, lively, blue-eyed wench, and I am always glad of her company, but could dispense with the visitor she brings with her, her younger sister Fear, a white-livered, lily-cheek, bashful, palpitating, awkward hussy, that hangs like a green girl, at her sister's apron strings, and will go with her whithersoever she goes." How can Christ help us to dispense with that ubiquitous "younger sister, Fear"? Certainly, the presence of Hope helps, but she is insufficient to cope with that hussy who makes life miserable for so many. John Middleton Murry recently published the letters of his wife, Katherine Mansfield, who

4. George Woodcock, *Letters of Charles Lamb* (The Grey Walls Press, London, 1950).

died of tuberculosis at the age of 34. Her published short stories and letters promised exceptional creativity as a writer. Like so many of her contemporaries, she was a reluctant humanist in religion. In the next to the last letter she wrote, there is this searching commentary: "You see, my love, the question is always: *'Who am I?'* and until that is answered, I can't see how one can really direct anything in oneself. *'Is there a Me?'* One must be certain of that before one has a real unshakeable leg to stand on. And I don't believe for one moment these questions can be settled by the head alone." In the same letter, (December 26, 1922), she said, ". . . if I were allowed one single cry to God, that cry would be: *I want to be* REAL. Until I am that, I don't see why I shouldn't be at the mercy of old Eve in her various manifestations for ever."[5] Those two quotations suggest sermon themes—"Who am I?—The Christian Answer"; and "How to Become a Real Person."

Contemporary playwrights may be found among the prophets. "The Death of a Salesman" has furnished more than one preacher with material to emphasize the futility of life lived without a great spiritual faith. Occasionally, a musical comedy lyric carries overtones of implicit Christian belief. Both Dr. Fosdick and his successor, Dr. McCracken, independently of each other made positive use of the negative pagan sentiment of the song in "Annie Get Your Gun"—"Doing What Comes Naturally." "South Pacific" has an indirect attack on racial prejudice in the brief song, "You've Got to Be Taught to Hate and Fear." "Member of the Wedding" has at least one luminous illustration of the spiritual problem of "I" being expanded into "we."

Magazines, especially those devoted to criticism of literature and life, may prove fruitful. It has been said that you can identify the seminary from which a preacher comes by his homiletic use of the *New Yorker* and/or the *Saturday Review of Literature!* High school and college baccalaureate sermons have been enlivened by weaving satirical

5. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1952, p. 697.

essays from the former magazine into the fabric of the preacher's message. One that may be appreciated by youth and age alike was written by Frank Sullivan, and described Dr. Arbuthnot's Select Academy—"known jocularly in educational circles as the proving ground for puddings." Its curriculum aimed at the testing of cliches. If Dr. Arbuthnot offered a summer course, we might have prospective students to suggest. The classes are most unusual. The elocution class meets on a rooftop, and the members shout as loudly as possible to see whether rooftops are the best place to shout from. A basic course in physical education, required of all freshmen, sends the young men charging against solid masonry, that they may learn the futility of butting their heads against a stone wall. The steam room specializes in what is called the "Russian massage"—rubbing people the wrong way. In the home economics department, a seminar in hash-settling is offered, along with a laboratory where Democrats can taste defeat. The author identifies himself as an examiner for "the Federal Department of Platitudes." Does that mythical government office suggest that now and again a preacher could act as such an examiner, holding up to view certain platitudes which, at best, are only half-truths, and which, at their worst, lull Christians into perilous complacency?

The Christian pulpit never was intended to compete with editorial desks, nor furnish a running commentary on current events. Nevertheless, editors and news correspondents may be allies of the preacher. In September, 1951, Donald Adams devoted his column in the *Saturday Review* to a meditation on the mountain scenery he had recently enjoyed. Mountains, he said, offer healing in "this neurotic, war-sick, rootless and apprehensive time . . . they are, if you let them work, good antidotes for swollen egos and, curiously enough, fine bolsters for thin ones. They can do more than all the psychiatrists and psychoanalysts from here to Kingdom Come. 'I will lift up mine eyes to the hills,' said the Psalmist.'" He asked whether it might not temper the steel of Stalin (the meaning of his name in Russian) "if he

would exchange the Sparrow Hills of Moscow now and then for the mountains of his native Georgia." Both the Old Testament and the New Testament have mountains on their terrain. Still those high hills "with torch upheld . . . point the way, clear of the brooding cloud." Would residents of Flatlands and glens of gloom not be helped to recover perspective, gain strength and vision, by a sermon which would take them to the majestic peaks of divine revelation? John Henry Jowett told his people that they needed mountains on life's landscape, and suggested three—Sinai, Calvary, and Olivet: divine law, love, and life.

"Beginning writers," said Fletcher Pratt "always come up with one question—where do you get the raw material? The answer is everywhere. Personal conversation . . . personal observation. The only requirement . . . is an absolutely insatiable curiosity."[6] Beginning and veteran preachers come up with the same question, and the answer is the same. Curiosity is the basic requirement for successful mining of raw material. A second requisite consists of the habit of keeping a record of the source to which easy access may be made when you wish to use it.

Scorn is justly directed to the preacher whose sermons depend largely on newspapers for themes and illustrations. In an effort to be timely, we can neglect the timeless. Yet, occasionally, newspaper items prove a resource at least for illustration. For example, a dispatch from England not long ago reported that a motorist was charged before the magistrates with an unusual offence. He had not ignored a traffic sign, or driven through a congested area at excessive speed, or travelled a one-way street in the wrong direction. His offence seemed trivial enough; he had jogged along the highway at precisely five miles an hour. But behind him there was a crowded bus, and behind the bus was a lengthening procession of trucks, cars, and other forms of motor transport. Since there was no room to pass, the bus driver sounded his horn long, loudly, and finally profanely. The

6. Fletcher Pratt, *Saturday Review of Literature*, February 16, 1952.

motorist took no notice. Appropriate suggestions shouted at the leisurely driver had no effect. After some time had lapsed, the offending car turned off to the left, and its driver turned round with a smile on his face. It was not a pleasant smile. The man had a deep grudge against bus drivers. A man commits a punishable offence, said the magistrate in effect, when he drives under the influence of bad temper. Jesus said some of his severest words concerning people who get in other people's way, who hinder even the youngest and humblest fellow-creature. I seem to recall something about a millstone as a collar, and the deep sea as the fitting place for such offenders. John the Baptizer went before the Lord, not to hinder but to help. He willingly stepped out of the way. "He must increase," he said, "I must decrease."

One preacher heard Miss Deborah Kerr, in an interview over the radio following the release of *Quo Vadis* as a motion picture. "Weren't you afraid when tied to the stake you saw those lions leaping toward you?" "Not at all," she said, "For I happen to be one of those actresses who always reads to the end of the script before going into rehearsal. I knew that at the crucial moment Robert Taylor would come!" Christians cannot read to the end of the script; the final act is hidden from all eyes. But at least we know enough of the drama, and have sufficient knowledge of its author to know that at the very moment, God appears.

Our ever deepening experience of God in Christ, the perennially fresh scriptures of our faith, the pageantry of human life and the world around us, the literature and drama of our time and of other times—these are resources ample enough for any workman.

A young musician sought advice from one of the superlatively great musicians of our time. "I shall tell you my secret," said the maestro: "all my life I have been studying scores." All my life, he might have said, I have been using the resources God has made available. Is there any other way to become masters of an art? Our resources are unlimited. So is our opportunity to become better fitted and worthier to do Christ's work.

THE REVISED VERSION IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY

BY NELSON B. BAKER

The purpose of this paper is neither to defend nor to advocate the Revised Standard Version of the Bible. But it is felt that it would be instructive and illuminating to consider the historical tradition back of the present revision; that it is the latest link of a chain of accepted revisions, and that none of these has been accepted without reserve on the part of critics. It will thus be seen that some controversy surrounding a revision is nothing new, even for such a revision as the Authorized or King James Version. This being so, the one who is informed of this may acquire from the history a proper perspective by which to avoid being stampeded into either an hysteria of rejection of a new version, or unqualified acceptance, but rather to be led to open-minded consideration of it.

We proceed at once, therefore, to note the succession of the main English translations and revisions and observe the criticism, often very severe, to which each was subjected at the time of its publication.

We shall pass over John Wycliffe's Bible of 1380-1382, the first of the Bibles in the common English tongue, because it was not a translation from the original tongues but from the official Roman Catholic Latin Vulgate. Westcott remarks that the history of the English Bible really begins with the work of Tyndale and not with that of Wycliffe.[1]

The heroic William Tyndale first translated the New Testament from the original Greek into English, completing it in 1525, and thereafter continued to work on the Pentateuch from the Hebrew. His is a thrilling story of seeing the need of the Scriptures in the mother tongue and persisting in providing for it against clerical intolerance, persecution and the final securing of his death. Shamelessly betrayed in the course of his labours, he was tied to the stake, strangled and then burned in Vilvorde, Belgium in 1536. His last words at the stake were: "Lord, open the King of England's

1: B. F. Westcott, *History of the English Bible* (London: Macmillan, 1872), p. 335.

eyes." Tyndale united great linguistic gifts, devout spiritual life, a bold and fiery ardor, with steadfastness and labour to accomplish his great work. In an early controversy with a Catholic churchman he had declared, "If God spare my life, ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth a plough shall know more of the Scriptures than thou doest." In the course of his efforts to get help from the clergy and particularly from Bishop Tunstall of London he concluded: "I . . . understode at the laste not only that there was no rowme in my lorde of londons palace to translate the new testament, but also that there was no place to do it in all englonde."[2]

The incentive that led Tyndale to translate was thus stated by him: "I had perceived by experience how that it was impossible to establish the lay people in any truth, except the scripture were plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue, that they might see the process, order, and meaning of the text."[3]

When the Testament appeared in England it was eagerly bought, but quickly attacked, proscribed, and copies were sought out to be burnt. Thomas More attacked it as dishonest, ignorant and heretical. He was offended by the substitution of words like "elder" and "repentance" for "priest" and "penance." He declared it ought not to be called the New Testament but Tyndale's or Luther's testament, because of its reflection of the Reformer's influence, although this was chiefly in marginal notes and preface. The translation was straight from the Greek, even though he derived help from some foreign versions. More was dismayed at the rendering "love" instead of "charity," the latter derived from the Catholic Vulgate; others were annoyed by the use of "congregation" instead of "church." Of the latter practice one writer said, "as if so many Turks or irrational animals were not a

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2. I. M. Price, *The Ancestry of the English Bible.* (Second Revised Edition by Irwin and Wikgren. New York: Harper, 1949), p. 245.

3. J. Isaacs, in *Ancient and English Versions of the Bible* (H. Wheeler Robinson, editor. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1940), p. 156.

congregation, except he wished them also to be a church."[4] Bishop Tunstall attacked the translation in a sermon, declaring he had found 3,000 errors in it: ". . . and truly," one who heard him writes, "my heart lamented greatly to hear a great man preaching against (the New Testament) which shewed forth certain things that he noted for hideous errors to be in it, that I, yea, and not I, but likewise did many other, think to be none."[5]

Many of Tyndale's marginal notes on the Pentateuch were calculated to prick the pride of the Romanists as in the case of Lev. 11:5: "They shall make them no baldness upon their heads." The marginal note reads: "Of the heathen priests therefore took our prelates the ensample of their bald pates."[6] But in the rendering of the text of Scripture itself he remained true to the practise of the faithful scholar. His New Testament and much of the old became a high standard for further translations that followed. It was his influence which determined that our English Bible should be popular and not literary, its very simplicity a guarantee of its permanence. It is estimated that nine-tenths of the Authorized New Testament is still his, and the substantial basis of half of the Old. This in spite of the virulent criticisms brought against it.

The first Bible entirely in English was the product of Myles Coverdale, a less intransigent man than Tyndale. He was not the scholar Tyndale was, perhaps more of an editor than a translator. His volume appeared in 1535 with a dedication to King Henry VIII. Henry had proscribed Tyndale's Testament, but this new Bible, though doubtless dependent to a degree on Tyndale, seems to have been allowed to circulate. Coverdale was noted for his harmonizing and conciliatory spirit and his great literary gifts, though at times, these were exercised in a way that departed from the original text.

Quickly thereafter, in 1537, there appeared "Matthew's

4. B. F. Westcott, *op. cit.*, p. 35n.
5. *Loc. cit.*
6. Isaacs, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

Bible," a title of uncertain origin thought to be the pen name of one John Rogers, the editor. It was "the foundation of all later English Bible Versions,"[7] composed of Tyndale's Pentateuch and New Testament, and the rest mostly from Coverdale. Isaacs declares that "Internal and external evidence combine to show that this unknown version was left in manuscript by Tindale at his death."[8] The volume was dedicated to King Henry and Queen Jane. It found royal favor at the instance of Archbishop Cranmer who said of it, "So farre as I haue redde thereof I like it better than any other translation heretofore made,"[9] and he suggested that it be authorized until a better translation be made by the bishops, which he thought would not be till "a day after domesday." Thus this, with Coverdale's revision of the same year, were allowed to be bought and read. It is of interest that this translation, so largely the work of one who had been burned at the stake the year before, should now have received recognition of both church and king.

But to have two different authorized editions of the same year circulating would be confusing and put a weapon in the hands of those who opposed the putting of the Bible in the common tongue. Moreover Coverdale's, while so happy in its phrasing, was not faithful enough to the original, and Matthew's was too likely to become offensively associated with the name of Tyndale, its chief source, and provoke a storm at court. Hence Thomas Cromwell, the king's chancellor, asked Coverdale to produce a new version, a revision of Matthew's Bible. In 1539 the work was complete and from its size and imposing dress was called The Great Bible. It was followed in April of the next year by a revision of it called Cranmer's and by another in November.

The Bishops generally made a last attempt to hold up an English version, and being asked by the king what was their judgment of the new translation, replied that there were many faults in it. "Well," said the king, "but are

7. *Ibid.*, p. 172.
8. *Ibid.*, 173.
9. Herbert Gordon May, *Our English Bible in the Making* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1952), p. 36.

there any heresies maintained thereby?" When they answered they could find no heresies maintained, the king declared, "If there be no heresies, then, in God's name, let it go abroad among our people!"[10] The Great Bible became *the* authorized version, and proved immensely popular. Public discussion of it in church services so interfered with the sermon that the irritation of the clergy provoked a warning from the king to the people to use caution. Cranmer's introduction to the April 1540 edition has some things to say which are still pertinent. He writes against those who will neither hear nor read the Scriptures in the vulgar (that is, common) tongues, and who discourage others from doing so. And he criticizes those who slander or obstruct the Word of God by "theyr inordinate readyng, undiscrete speakynge, contentious disputyng, or otherwise by theyr licencyous lyuinge."[11] In pressing his point with reference to those who are too content with what they are accustomed to, he cites the proverb concerning those who, after cultivation of grain has been discovered, still are content with malt or acorns rather than with eating the good bread made by grain.

Two other versions on the genealogical tree of the King James Version were the Genevan and the Bishops' Bibles. Queen Mary's attempts to stamp out the English Bible, and her ardent persecuting measures, sent the scholars of Reformed influence scurrying to the continent, especially to Geneva, the center of Reformed activity. Of those connected with Bible translations in Mary's day John Rogers was the first martyr, followed by Cranmer. Coverdale, having escaped to the continent, was the only one of them who died in bed. The Geneva translators were the first who produced a translation in English as a collaborating group. They were the first who divided the chapters into verses. This version, published in 1560 and dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, was printed with marginal notes of a Calvinistic tinge. The translation was characterized by

10. J. Isaacs, *op. cit.*, pp. 176f.
11. May, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

a fresh start at translating from the original. It contributed much to the King James Version and became very popular in England. It was truly a people's Bible; it was Shakespeare's Bible, the volume cherished by Puritans and our Pilgrim Fathers. The following Bishops' Bible was not able to supplant it, nor for a time did the King James Version. Even after the later Bishops' Bible was in process of preparation, when the person largely responsible for the patent applied for renewal, Bishop Parker, who was consulted in the matter, and who would not naturally be predisposed to it, replied generously thus:

> He and the Bishop of London thought so well of the first impression of the Bible and the review of those who had since traveled therein, . . . that though another special Bible for Churches were meant by them to be set forth, as convenient time and leisure hereafter should permit, yet should it nothing hinder but rather do much good to have diversity of translations and readings . . .[12]

The Genevan Bible was disliked by the Bishops for its popularity, its favour by these of extreme Protestant point of view, and above all for its controversial notes. Its excellence had drawn attention to the defects of the Great Bible, which was almost completely replaced in popular favour. Hence the Bishops' Bible was projected. Responsibility for translation of different parts of the Bible was parcelled out among the bishops. There were to be no "bitter notes upon any text," this a reference to the Genevan Bible. In spite of the fact that the notes of the Genevan Bible had been attacked by Bishop Parker as prejudicial, the Bishops' Bible of 1568 incorporated a large number of them. Hugh Broughton, a learned man, of whom more later, attacked the Genealogical Table included before the New Testament in these terms: "The cockles of the Seashores, and the leaves of a Forest, and the granes of the Popy may as well be numbered as the grosse erreurs of this table . . . our Bishops' Bible might well give place

12. Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 96f.

to the Alkoran, pestred with lyes."[13] This revision looked backward, often preferring tradition to the accuracy and smoothness of the Genevan version. It was uneven in quality, but the 1572 edition was used as the official basis for the King James Version. After this latest publication, the Genevan Bible held its place, but the Great Bible was supplanted by the Bishops' Bible.

We pause to note only briefly the publication of the Catholic Rheims version of 1582, and to note almost immediately after its appearance an attack on the various English Protestant versions of the Scriptures by a book with the following engaging title: *A Discovery of the Manifold Corruptions of the Holie Scriptures by the Heretickes of our daies, specially the English Sectaries, and of their foul dealing herein, by partial and false translations, to the advantage of their heresies, in their English Bibles used and authorised since the time of the Schisme, by Gregorie Martin, one of the Readers of Divinitie in the English College of Rhemes.* His points against the Reformers' translations were (1) the changes they felt it necessary to make in the various translations; (2) some intended mistranslations; (3) textual additions to support their heresies; and (4) recourse to another version when a previous one fails. A reply to this was written by William Fulke entitled, *A Defense of the Sincere and True Translations of the Holie Scriptures into the English Tong, against the manifold cavils, frivolous quarrels, and impudent slaunders of Gregorie Martin,* 1583. This was preliminary to a second immense volume on the same theme, in which the points at issue are accompanied by the most intemperate invective and abuse directed at specifically named personalities, which did no honour to the author or his cause.

Of the period we have thus far reviewed, Isaacs says:

> "There is no parallel in literary or religious history to the seventy-five years of endeavour from Tindale's Testament of 1525 to the end of the century, nothing like this concentrated history of pio-

13. Isaacs, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

neer endeavour and patient scholarship. With all their limitations of scholarly equipment, 'there were Giants in the earth in those daies,' and greatest of these giants was Tindale."[14]

We now have arrived at the King James Version of the English Bible which is esteemed for the sway it has held for some three hundred years in the churches and in the homes of the people, and for its wide-spread influence upon our language and literature.

It ought to be kept in mind that this version was a revision of the Bishops' Bible, itself a revision. Thus the King James Version is a revision of a revision. The work was set forward by King James I as the result of a suggestion made to a conference called by him. The King appointed about fifty learned men. Precise rules were set up, important among which were that the Bishops' Bible would be mainly followed as far as the original would allow; old ecclesiastical terms were to be retained; whenever Tyndale's, Coverdale's, Matthews,' the Great Bible, or the Genevan translation agreed with the original better than the Bishops' Bible, that agreement was to be followed.

Certain of their ideals were stated in a long preface and are relevant today. Their labour is not to be construed as condemning previous work, for they declared that those who laboured before them to translate had been raised up by God. "We do not deny," said they, "nay we affirm and avow, that the very meanest translation of the Bible in English, set forth by men of our profession . . . containeth the Word of God, nay, is the word of God." Again: "For to whomever was it imputed for a fault (by such as were wise) to go over that which he had done, and to amend it where he saw cause?" Once more: "Truly (good Christian Reader) we never thought from the beginning, that we should need to make a new Translation, nor yet to make of a bad one a good one, . . . but to make a good one better, or out of many good ones, one principal good one, not justly

14. *Op. cit.*, p. 195.

to be excepted against; that hath been our endeavour, that our mark."

The late Bishop Westcott, whose great Biblical scholarship has never been in doubt, says of the result: ". . . when every deduction is made for inconsistency of practice and inadequacy of method, the conclusion yet remains absolutely indisputable that their work issued in a version of the Bible better—because more faithful to the original—than any which had been given in English before."[15]

It is hardly necessary to mention here the tributes which have been paid to the simplicity and beauty of the English style of this version, for through the years since highest authorities have united in doing this and the truth is familiar to us. But we hasten to the criticisms made at the time and we are astonished at some of the language hurled at this translation which so well has stood the test the time. It has been said that no revision was ever attacked more bitterly. Hugh Broughton, one of the most learned scholars of his day, yet of an irascible and vainglorious disposition, piqued at being left off the committee, denounced the work. "The late Bible . . . was sent to me to censure; which bred in me a sadness that will greeve me while I breath. It is so ill done. Tell his Majest. that I had rather be rent in pieces with wild horses, than any such translation by my consent should bee urged upon poore Churches."[16] Of one place where he disagreed he asked, ". . . who bade them put this errour in the text and right in the margent?"[17] Robert Gell said "many mistranslated words and phrases, by *plurality of voices,* were carried into the *context,* and the better translation most what, was cast into the *Margent.*"[18] Selden complained that "the Bible is rather translated into English words than into English phrases."[19] Gell further complained in 1659 that "the further we proceed in survey of the Scripture, the Translation is the more

15. *Op cit.,* pp. 288f.
16. Hugh Pope. *English Versions of the Bible* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1952), pp. 329f.
17. *Loc. cit.*
18. Isaacs, *op. cit.,* p. 206.

faulty."[20] One of the most absurd charges was that the translation had been slanted through royal influence to countenance the idea of witchcraft. The translators were accused both of ecclesiastical and doctrinal bias. The height of venomous ferocity was struck in the reign of James II by Thomas Ward, a convert to Catholicism. He accused the translators "of blasphemy, most damnable corruptions, intolerable deceit, and vile imposture, these epithets not being [he declared] 'the dictates of passion, but the just resentment of a zealous mind.' "[21] It is interesting to note that of one hundred twenty of these "damnable corruptions" many are now found in the Catholic version itself.[22]

One fact not often realized by the non-specialist is that the King James Version language was not strictly in the vernacular of its time, but had much language that was already obsolete, more common a century earlier. This was owing to its having been carried over from the Bibles being revised. Furthermore, the edition of the King James Version now being used is not that of 1611, but the result of many changes in the course of many editions. Most of the changes incorporated in current issues of this version were fixed by the work of Blayney in the edition of 1769. He checked and verified marginal references, adding 30,000 new ones. Chapter summaries and head-notes were revised, punctuation was changed and put in modern form, errors in text were removed, capitalization greatly modified and the spelling of words brought into accord with modern usage.

The considerations calling for previous revisions were enhanced many fold in the huge time gap between 1611 and 1881 when the English Revised Version appeared, and of which the American Standard Revision is a variant. While the essential truth of text and translation remained the same, as the King James translators found to be the case in their day, nevertheless the meanings of many words had

19. *Ibid.*, p. 209.
20. *Loc. cit.*
21. John Eadie. *The English Bible* (Two vols. London: Macmillan Co., 1876), II, p. 267.
22. *Loc. cit.*

become altered or completely changed and a vast fund of manuscript evidence for a more accurate text had become available. Much of the nature of Hebrew poetry had only become known in the intervening time, and a new translation was imperative to all who placed truth and accuracy above sentiment and time-honoured usage and familiarity. The most imposing assemblage of scholars up to its time was gathered and authorized to begin work. The English and American Standard Revisions are indeed monuments to the finest scholarship, well represented by their translators.

Here again the difficulties of translation show through in the result. The attempt to keep to Elizabethan English while offering greater intelligibility prevented a truly modern English work. Of two schools of thought, one of which desired as much as possible to translate word for word, and another which would allow greater freedom in order to translate the idiom of the original into the idiom of English, the former view prevailed. The result is a translation more verbally exact, and thus of more help to one who can only use English and who wants to know as nearly as possible what the original writer said, but its tyle is rather stilted and there is certainly a loss of the grace of the Authorized Version.

Reception of this latest version was varied. The New Testament appeared first. Of its literary style Spurgeon remarked that it was "strong in Greek, weak in English." Dean J. J. S. Perowne, while generally approving it, criticized its pedantry and poor English, with the reasons stated in mind. A balanced and on the whole favourable article in the *Edinburgh Review* of 1881 ended by stating, "The revisers were not appointed to prepare an interlinear translation for incompetent school boys." Dean Burgon of Chichester was particularly aroused to acrimonious criticism. He attacked the textual theories of Westcott and Hort; nothing the revisers had done was right, and he suggested that these more than twenty accomplished scholars who had worked eleven years on the Revision should receive the rebuke of the Church. Because of his learning and influ-

ence, his series of articles is thought to have hindered acceptance of the new version by the British public. The Old Testament appeared in 1885 and secured a mixed, but on the whole, favourable reception. One obscurantist and less accurate writer in the English *Quarterly Review* went so far as to say of the Revisers that "in many instances they appear to start with a prejudice against the Christian Faith."[23] There is no question of the greater accuracy of this version and its far greater usefulness for close study purposes for the English reader. Nevertheless it has never won its way to prevailing use in the churches.

And now what of the present and the future? The Revised Standard Version of the Bible has put in its appearance, accompanied by considerable sound and some fury. It should be remembered that it is really the fifth of the versions in any sense to be called authorized. The four earlier ones were the Great Bible, the Bishops' Bible, the King James Version and the English and American Standard Revisions, really a joint work. The Revised Standard Version was authorized about as nearly as anything could be authorized by the churches of America.

This and other translations are really in line with the martyred William Tyndale's exhortation to any versed in the original tongues: "If they perceive in any places that I have not attained to the very sense of the tongue or the meaning of the Scripture, or have not given the right English word, that they put to their hands to amend it, remembering that so is their duty to do."[24]

Of the present Revised Standard Version, we might well hear the translators speak in language similar to that of John Bunyan, who of his intention in narrating the facts of his spiritual experience in *Grace Abounding* wrote thus: ". . . I may not play in relating them, but be plain and simple, and lay down the thing as it was: he that liketh it, let him receive it; and he that doth not, let him produce a better."

23. Isaacs, *op. cit.*, p. 263.
24. Westcott, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

CHURCH AND STATE IN SPANISH AMERICA 1528-1701

BY W. CONARD GASS

Today we are much concerned with the problem of church-state relationships, primarily from the standpoint of separation of church and state. In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Western Europe the matter of church-state separation hardly existed as a recognized problem; for with the exception of a few small and relatively uninfluential minorities, everyone assumed a close official connection between church and state. But on the question of who should be the dominant partner of this arrangement there was considerable difference of opinion. Since the rise of the national state was one of the most important developments of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it is not surprising that the state was more often than not the victor in the inevitable test of strength, and this was as true of Catholic as of Protestant states. Nowhere was the political domination of ecclesiastical affairs more clearly exemplified than in the Spanish Empire of America. It is the purpose of this paper to explore briefly the political domination of the church-state relationship in the Spanish Empire in America during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with special emphasis upon the Viceroyalty of New Spain (Mexico). The ecclesiastical organization was an integral part of the Spanish political system in colonial Mexico, and was as fully an agency of the political authority of the Castilian monarch as the civil government itself. No adequate conception of the constitutional system of viceregal New Spain is possible without an understanding of the part which the Catholic Church played in it.[1]

The legal basis for this church-state relationship was the papal bulls which gave the Spanish sovereigns ecclesiastical authorization for the conquest and occupation of the Americas. Fundamentally, this ecclesiastical-civil relationship was based on a contractual agreement between the

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1. All footnotes appear at the end of this article, pp. 86ff.

Spanish crown and the papacy, by which the papacy bestowed the rights of sovereignty over the American territories in return for the Spanish royal promise to propagate the Gospel among the aborigines. The pontifical documents which established this arrangement on a formal basis were as follows: Alexander VI's bull *inter caetera* on May 4, 1493, which granted Ferdinand and Isabella the exclusive privilege of Christianizing the natives of the Spanish Indies;[2] Alexander VI's bull *eximae devotionis* of November 16, 1501, which relinquished to the Spanish crown the tithes and first-fruits of the American churches in consideration of the expenses incurred by the crown in evangelizing the Indians;[3] Julius II's bull *universalis ecclesiae* of July 28, 1508, by which the Spanish crown was given the rights of universal patronage over the church in America.[4] Later papal documents concerning the royal patronage in America simply extended and developed the principles set forth in these three early papal bulls. The papal willingness to bestow upon the Spanish crown such an unlimited grant of authority can be explained only in terms of the geographic distances involved and the lack of papal funds for the tremendous missionary undertaking at hand. Under the circumstances, the pope was unable to undertake direct missionary work in the Americas; the Spanish crown was obviously the only agency equal to the gigantic task of establishing the Spanish American church. And so it came to pass that the papacy, faced with such hard realities, somewhat grudgingly conferred upon the Catholic kings and their successors the rights of universal patronage over the church in America, though not without ample historical precedent.[5]

Patronage ordinarily consists of the right to nominate a cleric for installation in a vacant benefice.[6] In the case of major benefices, nomination is made to the pope; and in the case of minor benefices, to the bishop or other prelates concerned. Patronage in its full sense, however, includes in addition to presentation—honorary and utilitarian rights, and certain obligations on the part of the patron. Of all the elements of patronage, the right of presentation (or

nomination) to ecclesiastical office remains, nevertheless, the most important.[7]

His possession of the patronage rights in a most complete and unrestricted form, plus his prerogatives as sovereign, made the Spanish monarch legally the absolute master of Spanish America. His only limitations were those imposed by his own human finiteness and the restraints of time and distance. From the strictly legal standpoint, few rulers of modern history have held title to an ampler authority than that of the Spanish kings in their American possessions. All Spanish America was subject to the direction and administration of the king, or of those to whom he delegated his authority, in ecclesiastical, as well as in secular affairs.[8] Within a remarkably short time after the Conquest, the Spanish crown developed efficient machinery for the administration of the American patronage (*real patronato de Indias*). By 1598, the year in which Philip II died, the civil authority had thoroughly consolidated its control of the church. Most of the issues over which the civil and ecclesiastical forces of medieval Europe had struggled so long and persistently were here decided at the outset in favor of the civil power. Without the co-operation and approval of the Spanish monarchy, the papal throne itself was helpless in colonial Spanish American affairs of church.[9]

The fact that the power of the crown was not used as a hindrance to the work of the church was due to no lack of ability on the part of the crown, but rather to the crown's sympathy for the purposes and methods of the church. We are here concerned, not with the transplanted ecclesiastical usage of Europe, but with an ecclesiastical institution adapted to the peculiarities of the Spanish American environment.[10] As sovereign and as supreme head of the church, the king controlled with absolute power the organization and conduct of ecclesiastical affairs in America. As we have indicated above, this royal control of ecclesiastical affairs was formally granted by the pope. Had it not been so granted, the Spanish crown would very probably have exercised it nevertheless. The royal attitude toward the

American patronage was clearly set forth both in Ferdinand's correspondence with Pope Julius II (1504-1508) in a *cedula* of Philip II, dated June 1, 1574, and addressed to the viceroy and government of New Spain.[11] This *cedula* asserted the crown's right to the patronage throughout the Indies (i.e., the Americas and the Philippines) and ordered the preservation of this right without diminution and in perpetuity. Philip stated that the crown's right to the patronage was based upon three factors, any one of which was in itself sufficient legal basis for the royal patronage. These factors were: (1) the rights of discovery and conquest; (2) the founding and endowment of churches; (3) the papal concessions.

One very good indication of the completeness with which the ecclesiastical authority was subjugated to the civil power in Spanish America is the presence of legislation defining the duties and delimiting the powers of the clergy in the *Recopilacion de leyes de los reynos de las Indias*, a primarily civil code of laws[12] For example, the *Recopilacion* regulated the conduct and duties of cathedral officials; provided that prebendaries should reside in the church to which they belonged, that they should not absent themselves from services in which they had been assigned a part, and that they should not leave their post of duty for any reason, without the permission of their superiors. The penalty for non-observance of these rules was dismissal from office. The archbishops and bishops were to enforce these and similar rules.[13]

The previously cited royal *cedula* of June 1, 1574, which was one of the legislative decrees from which the *Recopilacion* was compiled, required the bishops, the provincials of religious orders, the viceroys, presidents, *audiencias*, and governors, "each of them separately and distinctly by himself . . . to make a list of the *dignidades*, benefices, missions, and ecclesiastical offices in his province, noting those of them that are vacant and those that are filled." These same civil and ecclesiastical officials were also to compile a list of all the clergy and students for the priesthood residing in

their respective jurisdictions. This list was to include a description of the persons listed as to character, education, and qualifications. Both sets of reports, those on ecclesiastical positions and those on ecclesiastical personnel, were sent to Spain each year on the *flota*. The purpose of these reports was to keep the crown informed on the conditions of the church in America and to serve as a basis for making appointments and promotions.[14]

The dominant characteristic of the *real patronato de Indias* was the general control of ecclesiastical affairs by the king through the Council of the Indies.[15] This control was not limited to theory, but found expression in the most practical and detailed aspects of political and ecclesiastical administration and included purely doctrinal matters. The prelates took even their theological perplexities to the king and the Council rather than to the pope. When during the course of the early missionary efforts in Mexico a controversy arose over the proper mode of baptism, the whole matter was submitted to the Council of the Indies.[16]

This being the case, it is not surprising that the civil, and not the ecclesiastical courts were charged with the maintenance of the royal patronage and the consideration of all violations of the laws pertaining thereto. The civil courts had sole jurisdiction in all cases arising over the boundaries of dioceses, the rights and privileges of those persons holding benefices, controversies concerning the administration of the church, and all other cases which in any way affected the royal patronage.[71] In no instance were the ecclesiastical courts allowed to hear suits involving any aspect of the royal patronage.[18]

Another significant means by which the Spanish crown maintained its control of ecclesiastical affairs in the Americas was the practice of submitting all bulls, briefs, rescripts, and dispatches of the papal court, containing laws, rules, or general statements, to the scrutiny of the Council of the Indies before their publication. The crown sought in this way to prevent the execution of any papal provisions which might in any way conflict with the *regalias*, concordats,

customs, laws, or decrees of the Spanish nation, or which might encroach upon the royal patronage. Despite vigorous protests on the part of the papacy, the crown would permit the passage of no communication from the Holy See to the American ecclesiastics, without the royal imprimatur. This practice was based on both ancient Spanish usage and later royal enactments. The laws of the Indies instructed all American officials, civil and ecclesiastical, to refuse to obey papal bulls and briefs which had not been approved by the Council of the Indies. Furthermore, all letters from the American prelates to the Holy See were subject to the royal censorship.[19]

When the king refused to allow the publication of a bull in America, he neither reported to the pope the reason for his objection nor took the trouble to suggest an acceptable course of papal action. The examining attorney, acting for the Council of the Indies, simply begged His Holiness to retain the bull. In actual practice, this formal petition never reached the pope. The government simply informed him of its contents at the government's own convenience, usually by word of mouth to some diplomatic official of the papacy. Viceroys, *audiencias*, and governors in America were instructed to convey to the Council of the Indies all papal documents not previously approved by the Council.[20] According to H. H. Bancroft, there were numerous cases of the viceroys' obedience to these instructions.[21]

The Spanish crown consistently opposed all direct communications between the church in America and the church in Europe. Papal legates and nuncios were never allowed in Spanish America. The only indication that these officials even existed, insofar as America was concerned, was the laws which forbade them jurisdiction in the Indies. All apostolic authority in America was delegated to the metropolitans. The metropolitans were really representatives of the crown rather than of the papacy, and so constituted a bulwark against papal interference in the secular affairs of the American church.[22]

A papal brief of December 6, 1610, provided that pro-

vincial church councils should be held in America every twelve years. These councils were called into session by the metropolitan. At first, each call for a council had to be approved in advance by the king; later, the viceroy or captain-general within whose jurisdiction the council was to be held was empowered to grant the necessary permission. These councils were composed of the bishops, canons, superiors of religious orders, and presbyters of the province; but only the bishops could vote. The vice-patron[23] attended the council in person to see that the royal patronage was not violated. All decisions of the provincial councils were made subject to the royal approval. Such being the case, these decisions were submitted to the Council of the Indies, and if that body approved them, they were sent to the pope, who then ordered their publication in the province of their origin. The conciliar decrees, if properly approved and published, were authoritative in their own province; but not in any other province. Under no circumstance was an enactment of a provincial council binding without the royal approval.[24] According to J. Lloyd Mecham,[25] only thirteen provincial councils were held in all Spanish America during the entire colonial period.

The American church observed an enactment of the Council of Trent to the effect that each diocesan bishop should annually summon a synod of the clerics and prelates of his respective diocese. All actions of the American synods were submitted to the viceroy or governor who held civil jurisdiction over the diocese in question. This civil official might then take any one of three possible courses of action: (1) he might approve the synodal acts; (2) he might overrule them; or (3) he might send them to the Council of the Indies for instructions from that body. Once the measures adopted by the synod had received the approval of the civil authorities, they were published by the authorities and applied within the diocese.[26]

The royal authority, and not the pope, determined the territorial boundaries of dioceses and parishes in the Americas. This exception to the usual ecclesiastical practice was

due not only to royal precautions against papal intervention in the ecclesiastical and political affairs of the Spanish American colonies, but to certain other considerations as well. Chief among these were: (1) the custom of making dioceses co-extensive with political divisions and the necessity of subordinating the former to political control; (2) the familiarity of the political government with local conditions; (3) the geographic distance of the papal seat from the Americas and the pope's limited knowledge of American conditions.[27]

Due to the geographic distances involved and his necessary preoccupation with other matters of state, it was impossible for the Spanish king personally to discharge the functions of the *real patronato de Indias*. His powers of patronage were, therefore, delegated to the civil officials who represented him in the Americas, the viceroys, *audiencias*, and governors. This delegation of authority was given formal approval by the pope. One of the most significant features of the royal instructions given to Antonio de Mendoza upon his commission as first viceroy of New Spain was the emphasis laid upon his duties as vice-patron of the Mexican church. In his instructions of April 25, 1535, Mendoza was commanded by the Emperor Charles V (King Charles I of Spain) to make a thorough investigation of the state of the Mexican church, and especially to see that there were a sufficient number of churches established for the conversion of the natives and their instruction in the faith. He was also commanded to seek the advice of the clergy in regard to all ecclesiastical matters and the general welfare of the viceroyalty.[28]

It was generally through the action of the viceroy, either directly or indirectly, that ecclesiastical presentations were made, the clergy were regulated, churches were built, councils were held, and the educational and charitable functions of the church were discharged. In the exercise of the royal patronage, the presidents of *audiencias*[92] acted as delegates of the viceroy, and the governors, as delegates

of the viceroy and the *audiencia*.[30] The king, however, always reserved the right to over-ride his vice-patrons.[31]

In theory, the Spanish king was patron of all church buildings and of all buildings of other religious institutions in Spanish America, regardless of who built or endowed them. In actual practice, however, the crown exercised the patronage over only the cathedral churches. The laws of the Indies, therefore, granted private individuals the privilege of building and endowing hermitages, hospitals, monasteries, churches, and other pious works; and such private individuals were allowed to exercise the patronage over these on behalf of the crown.[32]

When, in 1501, the Spanish crown gained the use of the tithes from the American churches, it assumed the obligation of aiding with the expenses incurred in the building of churches. Ordinarily, one-third of the cost was borne by the royal treasury, and two-thirds by the *encomenderos*[33] and the Indians. In fact, the Indians bore the entire burden. They provided the manual labor for the actual building of the church structure. By working on the *encomiendas* they enabled the *encomenderos* to pay their share.[34] In addition, the Indians paid tribute to the king; and from this was taken the portion contributed by the royal treasury.[35]

Certain regulations in the laws of the Indies were designed to prevent and remedy conflict between the secular and the regular clergy. Bishops and archbishops were instructed neither to establish parishes in Indian towns and reductions where there were monasteries and monks holding curacies, nor to found a monastery of any order where parish priests had already been located. Monks were not to preach in towns where there were parish priests; and should they do so, the archbishop or bishop was to request that they either do their preaching elsewhere or return to their monastery. In such cases, the monks were ordered to limit their missionary activities to such places as it might be needed, where in accordance with the law and under proper authority it might be possible to found a monastery.[36]

No monk could become a parish priest or curate, except by the nomination of the vice-patron. In such nominations due recognition of the king as the supreme patron was required. Furthermore, such appointments were customarily made only to parishes which consisted largely of Indians and presented a missionary challenge. It was, therefore, required that the appointee should know the language of the Indians to whom he was to minister. His ability to fill the position in question was determined through an examination conducted by the prelate of the diocese, or by his agents appointed for that purpose.[37]

The religious orders in America were under strict royal supervision. This supervision was exercised through the Council of the Indies, assisted by a commissioner-general of religious orders. Although the provincials or custodians of each religious order were named by their own general, the appointment was sent to the commissioner-general, who then submitted it to the Council of the Indies. Without the approval of the Council the appointment did not take effect. The Council of the Indies controlled the creation of provinces and their suppression, the founding of convents, the sending of inspectors to America, and similar matters pertaining to the regular orders.[38]

Every three years, the viceroys, presidents of *audiencias,* and governors were required to make a detailed report concerning the monks and friars in their respective jurisdictions. On the basis of these reports the king and the Council of the Indies decided whether or not to send inspectors to the Americas. When the inspectors were sent, they were instructed to observe the state of the regular clergy, to note the points on which reform was needed, etc. The inspectors were to avoid all unnecessary disturbance and were admonished to aim always at the perfection of the religious life.[39]

The royal patronage included the regular orders quite as completely as it did the secular clergy. Philip II's law of June 1, 1574, concerning the royal patronage in the Indies was especially emphatic on this point; for it commanded

"that the religious orders observe and maintain the right of patronage." This law then laid down the following rules for the goverance of the regular orders in their relationship to the royal patronage: (1) no general, commissary-general, inspector (*visitor*), provincial, or other superior of the regular orders could go to the Americas without first notifying the Council of the Indies of his purpose in going and obtaining the permission of that body; (2) any provincial, *visitor,* prior, guardian, or other high official of the regular orders, elected to office in the Americas, must give proof of his election to the chief executive of the political jurisdiction in which he was to hold office, before entering upon the discharge of his official duties; (3) each American provincial was required to make to the proper civil authorities an annual report of all monasteries and chief residences subject to his province, as well as the names, ages, and qualifications of all religious in his province; (4) each year the provincials were required to submit to the viceroy, *audiencia*, or governor a list of all the regular clergy teaching doctrine to the Indians, administering the sacraments, or holding curacies in the villages of the chief monasteries; (5) whenever the provincials had to provide personnel for the purpose of religious instruction or the administering of the sacraments, or to remove anyone who had been previously appointed to these tasks, they had to give notice to the proper civil officials.[40]

The laws of the Indies placed great emphasis upon the conversion of the Indians. The archbishops, bishops, and other prelates were commanded to give close attention to the preaching of the Gospel among the Indians and their instruction in the fundamentals of the faith, and the civil authorities were instructed to co-operate closely with the clergy in this enterprise. The laws were detailed in their provisions for the religious instruction of Indians, Negroes, and mulattos. On Sundays and other days when these ethnic groups were obliged to hear mass, their members might not be compelled to work.[41]

As in Spain, the clergy of Spanish America were al-

lowed to have their own canon courts. This privilege was known as the *fuero ecclesiastico*. The ecclesiastical courts were organized by dioceses, and were generally of three classes: *provisorato* for Spaniards; *provisorato* for Indians; and *juzgado de testamentos, capellanias, y obras pias* (court for wills, chapels, and pious works). The jurisdiction of these courts was restricted to Catholics. They could not inflict corporal punishment; and were without any power to sentence Indians to hard labor or to impose fines upon them. Jurisdictional disputes between the civil and ecclesiastical courts were decided by the viceroy. Appeals from the ecclesiastical courts were carried to the papal court in Rome until 1609; thereafter, all cases were terminated in America.[42]

The Spanish crown's control of ecclesiastical affairs in its American possessions was nowhere more clearly revealed than in the Inquisition (or Holy Office), which Philip II introduced into New Spain in 1571. Although the chief end and purpose of this agency was the preservation of the purity of the Catholic faith, the Holy Office was entirely independent of the pope and was directly subject to the king in the *Consejo de Suprema y General Inquisicion* (Council of the Supreme and General Inquisition), a body with headquarters in Spain, not Rome. The inquisitors themselves were appointed by the king, and were personally responsible to him. Although the viceroy was oath-bound to support the Holy Office, he was required to report any infringement of the royal patronage by the inquisitors or their agents. In case of minor conflict between the Inquisition and the secular courts, an adjustment might be made in a conference between the senior *oidor* (justice) of the *audiencia* and the ranking inquisitor. In the case of failure to reach a compromise by this method, the matter was decided by the viceroy. In cases of serious conflict between the viceroy and the inquisitors. the matter was transferred to Spain where it was adjusted by a joint-committee of two members each from the Council of the Indies and the General Council of the Inquisition.[43]

Edicts of the Inquisition could be published only with the permission of the viceroy. The civil authorities were entrusted with the enforcement of penalties meted out by the Inquisition, including the collection and administration of fines. The close alliance of inquisitorial and civil authorities is indicated by the careers of two Mexican inquisitors, Pedro Moya y Contreras and Juan de Palafox. Moya y Contreras was concurrently (1584-1585) Mexican inquisitor, viceroy of New Spain, and archbishop of Mexico. Palafox was concurrently (1642) viceroy, visitor-general,[44] inquisitor, and bishop of Puebla. During this same year (1642) Palafox was offered the additional position of archbishop of Mexico, but this he declined.[45]

Since the church was so closely identified with the civil authority, it was as effective an instrument in the Spanish control of the American colonies as was the army. Perhaps it is not too much to say that the church was the more effective agency of domination. The clerics served the Spanish king well; for their position was absolutely dependent upon his goodwill. They were more closely attached to him than to the pope. The church played a large and important part in reconciling the indigenous and mestizo populations to Spanish rule. The ecclesiastics very early learned to appeal to the Indians' race-consciousness, as evidenced by the legend of the Virgin of Guadalupe (1532) and its effectiveness in winning the Indians' loyalty to the church.[46] It is significant that in Mexico no revolt against Spanish authority met with success until after such priests as Hidalgo and Morelos had taken up the revolutionary cause.[47] Nowhere in the history of Roman Catholicism is there a clearer example of the domination of the church by the state than in the history of colonial Spanish America.

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1. J. Lloyd Mecham, *Church and State in Latin America*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1943. p. 1; Wilhelm Roscher, *The Spanish Colonial System*. Translation edited by Edward Gaylord Bourne. New York: G. E. Stechert and Co., 1944. p. 11.

2. In Henry Steele Commager, editor, *Documents of American History*. Third edition. New York: F. S. Crofts and Co., 1944. pp. 2-4.

3. In Mecham, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 15 f.; also in N. A. N. Cleven, editor, *Readings in Hispanic American History.* Boston: Ginn and Co., 1927. pp. 248 f. Cf. Mary W. Williams, *The People and Politics of Latin America.* New edition. Boston: Ginn and Co., co. 1938.

4. In Mecham, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 18-20. The dates given in these bulls are not necessarily the actual dates of their issuance.

5. Cf. Silvio Zavala, *New Viewpoints in the Spanish Colonization of America.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943. Chapter II.

6. "Ecclesiastical Patronage," *The Encyclopedia Americana.* Edition of 1847. Vol. 21.

7. "Presentation," *Ibid.*, vol. 22.

8. Bernard Moses, *The Spanish Dependencies in South America.* New York: Harper and Bros., 1914, 2 vols. II, 210; Roscher, *Loc. Cit.*

9. Roger B. Merriman. *The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and the New.* New York: Macmillan, 1918-1934. 4 vols. III, 654 f.

10. Charles W. Hackett, "Introduction," *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773, Collected by Adolph A. Bandelier and Fanny R. Bandelier.* Introductions and annotations by Charles W. Hackett. Charles W. Hackett, editor. Washington, D. C.: The Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1923-1937. 3 vols. I, 25 f.

11. Cleven, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 250 ff.; A Curtis Wilgus, editor, *Readings in Latin American Civilization.* New York: Barnes and Noble. co. 1946. pp. 116 f.; Mecham, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 17 f. Cf. Zavala, *Op. Cit.*, chapter I and II.

12. The *Recopilacion* was the official code of laws designed for and relating to the Spanish Indies (Spanish America and the Philippines). The Spanish title is commonly translated as *The Code of the Indies.*

13. Cf., King to the Bishop of Nueva Galicia, directing him to correct certain irregular practices of the clergy in his diocese, in Hackett, *Op. Cit.*, II, 93 f.; also, Moses, *Op. Cit.*, 93 f. Cf. Vasco de Puga, *Provisiones, cedulas, instrucciones para el gobierno de la Nueva Espana.* Mexico City, 1563. Facsimile reproduction by Ediciones Cultura Hispanica, Madrid, 1945. Fols. 201, 213, 211. These royal orders contain some of the regulations for the clergy.

14. Cf. Bishop of Puebla to the King concerning the merits of certain priests for promotion (September 20, 1644), in Miguel Zeron Zapata, *La Puebla de los Angeles en el siglo XVII.* Mexico City: Editorial Patria, 1945. pp. 140-144; Cleven, *Op. Cit.*, p. 257; Arthur S. Aiton, *Antonio de Mendoza: First Viceroy of New Spain.* Durham: Duke University Press, 1927. p. 105.

15. The Council of the Indies was actually the governing body for all Spanish America during most of the Hapsburg period. Of course, it exercised authority in the name of the king, and the king could at any time over-rule its acts or decisions. The Council combined legislative, executive, and judicial functions. In the matter of church-state relations, there were naturally many conflicts and quarrels between the ecclesiastical and the secular authorities. This seems to have been as intended by the crown, which desired to keep both sets of officials properly humble and dependent.

16. For an account of the baptismal controversy by a participant, cf. Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M., Ph.D., *Motolinia's History*

of the Indians of New Spain. Translated and annotated with a bio-bibliographical study of the author by Francis Borgia Steck, translator and editor. Washington. D. C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1951. pp. 184-191.

17. Moses, *Op. Cit.*, II, 221 f.; *Recopilacion de leyes de los reynos de las Indias.* Madrid, 1791. 3 vols. *libro* I, *titulo* vi, *ley* 47.

18. *Recopilacion,* I, x, 1, 2.

19. *Recopilacion,* I, vii, x; Moses, *Op. Cit.*, II, 225; K. S. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity.* New York: Harper and Bros., co. 1939. 7 vols. III, 87; Wm. S. Robertson, *Rise of the Spanish American Republics.* New York: Appleton, 1918. p. 17.

20. *Recopilacion,* I, vii, 55; I ix, 25.

21. *Works.* San Francisco: The History Company, 1887. X, 685 f.

22. *Recopilacion,* I, vii, 55; I, ix, 2, 5.

23. The vice-patron was the viceroy or other secular official who exercised on behalf of the king the royal patronage within a particular district.

24. *Recopilacion,* I, viii. 6; Moses, *Op. Cit.*, II, 222 f.; Lillian Estelle Fisher, *Viceregal Administration in the Spanish American Colonies.* Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1929. pp. 218 f.

25. *Church and State in Latin America,* p. 39.

26. *Recopilacion,* 1, viii, 6; II, xv, 147.

27. Cf. Mecham, *Op. Cit.*, p. 30; Charles Gibson, *Tlaxcala in the Sixteenth Century.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1952. pp. 56-58.

28. "Instructions of Charles V to Viceroy Mendoza Concerning Conversion of the Indians in Mexico (1536), in Wilgus, *Readings in Latin American Civilization,* pp. 111-113; Aiton, *Antonio de Mendoza,* p. 37.

29. The *audiencia* was a type of court, consisting of a president and *oidores* (justices), with administrative as well as judicial functions.

30. Fisher, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 182-184: *Recopilacion,* I, vi, 26, 27; Donald E. Smith, "The Viceroy of New Spain in the Eighteenth Century," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for* 1908, Washington, D. C., 1909. I, 174.

31. "Decree of Philip II Concerning the Right of Ecclesiastical Patronage (June 10, 1574)," in Wilgus, *Readings in Latin American Civilization,* p. 117.

32. Mecham, *Church and State in Latin America,* pp. 28 f.; Fisher, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 186 f.

33. Men who held grants of land and Indians much as the medieval feudal lord had held land and serfs. An excellent work on the *encomienda* is Lesley Byrd Simpson, *The Encomienda in New Spain.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1950.

34. Cf., The Prince (Philip II) to the president and *oidores* of the Audiencia of New Spain concerning the building of the Cathedral of Mexico (August 28, 1552), in Vasco de Puga, *Provisiones, cedulas, instrucciones,* fols. 133 f. Of course, this was true only so long as there were *encomiendas.* However, the era of the most extensive church-building in colonial Spanish America had ended long before the *encomiendas* had finally disappeared.

35. Fisher, *Op. Cit.*, 187, n. 17.

36. *Recopilacion*, I, xii, 3; Moses, *The Spanish Dependencies in South America*, II, 213. In spite of these regulations conflict often occurred between the regular orders and the secular clergy, some cases even resulting in physical combat. — Cf. Gibson, *Tlaxcala in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 41. That such regulations as those listed above were frequently and persistently violated is indicated both by their frequent reiteration and the many references to this fact in the official correspondence of the colonial period. — Cf., Visitor-General Juan de Palafox, Bishop of Puebla, to the King (February 12, 1645), in Zeron Zapata, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 144 f.

37. *Recopilacion*, I, xv, 1-4; Royal instructions to the Bishop of Nueva Vizcaya, in Hackett, *Op. Cit.*, II, 203.

38. Hackett, "Introduction," *Ibid.*, I, 25; Mecham, *Church and State in Latin America*, p. 39.

39. *Recopilacion*, I, xiv, 42-44.

40. Cleven, *Readings in Hispanic American History*, pp. 225 f.; *Recopilacion*, I, xiv. For a rather humorous royal order forbidding the regular clergy to avenge themselves upon the civil officials by berating them in their sermons, cf. Royal order to the priors of the monasteries of New Spain, Vasco de Puga, *Op. Cit.*, fol. 104.

41. *Recopilacion*, I, i; F. W. Blackmar, *Spanish Institutions* of the Southwest. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1891. pp. 55 f.; Royal order that the *encomiendas* have clergy on them, in Vasco de Puga, *Op. Cit.*, fol. 112. Cf. Rafael Altamira. *A History of Spain.* Translated from the Spanish by Muna Lee. New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., co. 1949. p. 408; "Moral Instruction Given Mexican Indians," in Wilgus, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 118 f.

42. Bancroft, *Works*, X, 675-678; Williams, *The People and Politics of Latin America*, p. 180; Mecham, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 34 f.

43. *Recopilacion*, I, xix; Henry Charles Lea, *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies.* New York: Macmillan, 1908. p. 203; Preserved Smith, *The Age of the Reformation.* New York: Henry Holt and Co., co. 1920, p. 416. For an example of conflict between the secular authorities and the Inquisition, cf. Letter from Viceroy Luis de Velasco II to the King (January 30, 1595), in Hackett, *Op. Cit.*, I, 220.

44. A *visitor-general* was an extraordinary official personally representing the king and sent out at irregular intervals to make a thorough investigation of the political, social, and ecclesiastical conditions of a whole viceroyalty or captaincy-general. During his period of investigation he was the highest official of the viceroyalty or captaincy-general; only the king and the Council of the Indies were his superiors.

45. Lea, *Op. Cit.*, 201; C. H. Haring *The Spanish Empire in America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1947. p. 188.

46. Mecham, *Op. Cit.*, p. 44; H. I. Priestly, *The Mexican Nation: A History.* New York: Macmillan, 1903. pp. 108 ff.; Bancroft, *Works*, X, 403-408; Herbert E. Bolton. "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies," *Wider Horizons of American History.* New York: Appleton-Century, co. 1939, pp. 107-148.

47. An examination of the reasons for such clerical deflection from the case of the Spanish crown is a very interesting study in the history of ideas.

Book Reviews

Communion with God in the New Testament. By A. Raymond George. London: Epworth Press, 1953. xx, 274 pages. 25s.

The author of this book is tutor in theology at the Headingley Methodist College and a lecturer in the University of Leeds. The book itself gives the substance of one of the now famous lectures on the Fernley-Hartley Foundation, and it keeps up the tradition of its predecessors. This is an able and penetrating study. Mr. George knows his sources, British, American and Continental, and makes good use of his scholarship.

Many will be helped by the valuable discussion of Jesus as a man of prayer. Mr. George takes in turn the Prayer of Joy (Luke 10:27), the Prayer for Help (Mark 14:36) and parallels), the Prayer of Intercession (Luke 23:34), the Prayer of Despair (Mark 15:34), and the Prayer of Trust (Luke 23:46). Here is material for preacher as well as scholar, and a reminder that the Master has left an example of what prayer can be—deeply rooted in the Old Testament scriptures, combining warm trust and confidence with extreme frankness of utterance, not shrinking from petition and intercession, even intercession for enemies. "Their combination of petition with acceptance of the divine will is something new and creative in the history of prayer," writes Mr. George. He wisely adds, "This combination, like that of dereliction and trust, arises out of the paradox of the Incarnation, and yet points forward to the tensions which should mark the earnest prayer of all Christians."

Our author passes in review the development of the understanding of prayer in the New Testament writings. His discussion of Paul's "faith mysticism" and of the Pauline doctrine of *koinonia* is well done. He emphasizes the Jewish background of the thought of the great apostle, and discusses love for Paul's piety which can be called mysticism. Mr. George carefully deals with all the relevant data and concludes that Paul never claims a direct vision of God and that "the Pauline literature lends no support to the view that the Christian life is the vision of God."

The reviewer found the introduction chapter, which lays the foundation for the whole discussion, particularly refreshing. Mr. George recognizes the diversity of opinion about the nature and scope of mysticism, and wisely refuses either to define this term closely or to use it where it can be avoided. He prefers to use

the term "piety," and finds three types—the type that emphasizes absorption, that which emphasizes personal communion, that which likewise stresses man's separation from God but emphasizes sin and salvation rather than communion. The third type he thinks to be a characteristic strain in anti-perfectionist Protestantism, and as a good disciple of Newton Flew, he tends to cling to the second type. The reviewer sometimes felt that the whole treatment needed the balance which this third strain could give when *properly* recognized. Mr. George's fear of it is justified. There is a piety which emphasizes justification to the exclusion of sanctification, and turns faith from *fiducia* into *assentio*. Yet any discussion of Paul, for instance, has to face the fact that the background of sanctification is really a continuous process of justification. The absence of any deep consideration of the nature of sin in this volume serves to emphasize the point. Holiness is not the key word in Paul's thought, and communion with God must never be conceived in the tension of sin and grace. This tension is not too evident in the treatment under review.

The Johannine understanding of communion with God. and the Johannine usage of "knowing" and "seeing" are ably dealt with. There follows a concluding chapter in which the issue of communion is related to the basic doctrines of the Church, including the Trinity.

The book will repay careful study and will help to stimulate preaching if a man will get his teeth into it.

E. C. Rust

A History of Christianity. By Kenneth Scott Latourette. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953. 1,516 pages. $9.50.

For *The Journal of Religion*, XXI/4 (October, 1941), 432-443, Professor Latourette wrote an important article titled, "New Perspectives in Church History." The gist of that article was that the facts of Christian history call for a rather radical reorientation of the writing of Church History. The change of focus which Latourette deemed required by the facts should take three forms. First, there was needed an emphasis on the entire history of the Christian movement as contrasted with the more limited, institutional Church History. Second, the perspective must be broadened, from merely Occidental or even European, to take in the Christian movement as it moves forward in the ongoing stream of the history of *all* mankind. Third, much greater emphasis must be placed on the last four centuries, and especially the past century and a half—in which modern world Christianity has been a growing rather than a waning force in human history. That entire article developed the implications of these three perspectives.

Now, *A History of Christianity* attempts, across fifteen hundred pages and sixty-one chapters, to document the argument of the above-mentioned article. The result is impressive.

After consideration of the pre-Christian course of mankind and of the foundation of the Gospel in Jesus, the book is periodized in the same way as the author's seven-volume *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*. This is not to say forthrightly that the new book is a reworking of the old, though in the reviewer's judgment the work will not be without its critics at this point. This criticism, one may add, the author himself is prepared to anticipate and reject. It is to say, one may conclude, that for Professor Latourette the geographical range of Christianity in a given time and place—along with Christianity's development of new movements and its impact on culture—are the most important factors in determining the disposition of the materials which make up the total history. Not everyone will be prepared to agree with this point of view, but that is one reason the author wrote the book.

The work seeks to combine in balanced fashion the varied aspects of Church History. In the section devoted to the first period of five hundred years, for example, the expansion of the faith and the problems accompanying that expansion receive 48 pages. Organization and Doctrine in the same period receive 81 pages, while Worship and Discipline are given 29 pages. Other matters, including the rise of Monasticism are dealt with in 34 further pages. The story of Eastern Christianity which is also brought along through each period, contributes materially and distinctively to the whole. This same balance is maintained throughout, with the possible exception of the sections on the Great Century and A.D. 1914 and forward. Though attention is given, in these sections, to other features, the chief emphasis strikes this reader as being on aspects of expansion. Even so, these portions of the book are so ample that the whole story of Christian movement is more fully told than in any other one-volume history.

The work is planned as a textbook and without documentation. Professor Latourette's documentation would have greatly strengthened the book's value, but it would also have increased its size by some two hundred or more pages. Compensating in part for the absence of documentation, are the fine bibliographies placed at the end of the chapters. Twenty maps also enhance the value of the book.

The author's vast learning and his firm control of the data leave less informed minds a trifle staggered. An incredible amount of work lies back of the finished product. Yet the book is easy to understand, and may be profitably studied by people in either college or seminary, by either layman or minister.

The reviewer is not of the judgment that *A History of Christianity* will become normative for ecclesiastical historigraphy as to periodization and emphasis—nor, even, that it should so become. The reviewer is, however, genuinely persuaded that the new work will and should serve as a corrective for coming "Church Histories," which, without its influence and stimulus, would have to be noticeably the poorer.

For many, Mr. Latourette's name is synonymous with comprehensiveness and thorough competence. A wide study of his book may be as safely predicted as devoutly wished for.

T. D. Price

Man in this World. By Hans Zehrer. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1952. xi, 317 pages. 25s.

This is an unusually penetrating critique of western culture from a Christian viewpoint. Hans Zehrer is a German journalist and editor who witnessed and opposed the breakdown of culture in Germany under the Nazis. From the underground he continued the fight against a way of life which was opposed to the good of man. Since the war, Zehrer has continued the struggle. His fight has been not so much against false ways of life as for the Christian way of life. This book is the fruit of his deep concern for man as God's creature; man who was created to experience abundant life, but who in recent years has known nothingness and void. The work is much like Spengler's *Decline of the West*, except that Zehrer trusts in the God of righteousness who still rules in the affairs of men. Man may meet with nothingness in what he creates but he encounters a Father in God.

Zehrer sees the problem of western man displayed in a particular man in a displaced person camp in West Germany. The man's family, possessions, and culture are gone. Only his existence remains to him. There is nothing to give to him a reason for living. In this condition he is forced to inquire into the meaning of his existence. He looks at himself and finds nothingness, and there is the place of decision. Finding that he is nothing he may affirm the meaninglessness of all existence or he may discover that in denying self he can take up a cross and follow Jesus. Western man finds himself in this position because of the direction given to history by the Renaissance. At that time man discovered his natural powers, particularly reason, and he began to emphasize these to the exclusion of all else. Man ignored the fact that these were dependent upon God and made reason his god. Thus, man created a new order from reason and science, and this new order, western civilization, became his reason for being. He is finding at

last that culture is finite and that he cannot depend upon it. The question is, will man turn from his own emptiness to God?

The book is powerfully written, and it is a moving experience to read it. It makes one examine the nature of his own commitment to see whether his faith is a human choice of finite things or a trust in God in response to His redeeming grace.

Guy H. Ranson

The Christian Society. By Stephen Neill. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952. 334 pages. $3.50.

This is a study of the nature, function and resources of the Church today in the light of its history. The title is meant to suggest a study "of the Christian people as a society of men and women, existing in time and space, acting and reacting continually with its environment." "It is the nature of living organisms that they draw their nourishment from their surroundings, and modify their surroundings in the process." It is an analysis of the organic life of Christianity in the world, rather than a description of the institutional or doctrinal developments, which is attempted in this volume.

Bishop Neill writes from within his subject, and as a convinced Christian. He understands both that the Church is "in the world," and that it is "not of the world." The book describes certain aspects of the *expansion* of Christianity. It also contributes to an understanding of the Church's *relation to culture.* The last third of the book deals with *contemporary aspects of the Church's life*: its relation to other religions; to primitive peoples; the growth of indigenous churches; western cultural disintegration; and the relationship of empirical to true Church.

The secret of the Church's continuance has been its life of faith and worship. Always dependent upon God—always a pilgrim community, the Church often finds challenge and threat to be the opportunities of renewal. It is an instructive, and sometimes inspiring book.

T. D. Price

The Interpretation Of The Fourth Gospel. By C. H. Dodd. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953. 478 pages. $8.00.

Following the principle that in order to set forth a sound interpretation of the New Testament a book must be considered in its true context of thought, one of the leading New Testament scholars of the world, C. H. Dodd, has begun his study of the Fourth Gospel by taking soundings here and there in the religious

literature of Hellenism and Judaism with a view of reconstructing as much as possible the background of thought which the author of the Gospel presupposed on the part of readers. In the background material Dodd surveys the Hermetic literature, the writings of Philo Judaeus, Rabbinic Judaism, Gnosticism, and Mandaism. Poimandres and other tractates of the *Corpus Hermeticum* were previously examined by Dodd in 1935 in his book *The Bible and The Greeks.* Of particular interest in this background study is his presentation of The Torah and Messiah in Rabbinic Judaism. Dodd admits that Mandaism is too late in date to be of any direct significance for the investigation of the Fourth Gospel but its value lies in its retention of elements of earlier Gnosticism. He also maintains that the author of the Fourth Gospel was more sympathetically in touch with Hellenistic Judaism than Rabbinic Judaism. For reasons advanced by me in an article in the Review and Expositor, January, 1953, entitled "The Secondary Purpose of the Fourth Gospel" I do not agree with Dodd on the above statement but on the contrary I see more support for a sympathetic touch with Rabbinic Judaism.

In Part II of his book the author gives an excellent treatment of the leading religious ideas used in the Fourth Gospel and seeks to define the meaning of these concepts in the context of the religious background indicated above. After stating that the method of the evangelist is symbolism, Dodd examines such ideas as eternal life, knowledge of God, truth, faith, union with God, light, glory, judgment, spirit, Messiah, Son of Man, Son of God, and Logos.

The definition of leading ideas in Part II is followed by the argument and structure of the Fourth Gospel in Part III. The argument is followed chapter by chapter with the book being divided into three sections: A. The Proem; B. The Book of Signs; C. The Book of the Passion. In this running interpretation of the Gospel Dodd accepts the present order of the chapter and verses and does not attempt to set forth a rearrangement of the acknowledged dislocations. It was the intention of the author originally to add a fourth part to the book which would deal with the relation of the Fourth Gospel to the historical tradition of early Christianity. In the Appendix he does include some considerations of the historical aspect of this Gospel which he will follow in a future study.

Dodd's contribution to the interpretation of the Fourth Gospel, while inestimable and lasting in value, will by no means supplant a book like that of Edwyn Clement Hoskyns. It is hoped that Dodd will give us a commentary on the Fourth Gospel and add to it Part I and Part II of this book. These two parts of the book are well worth the price for any pastor.

Taylor C. Smith

Harper's Bible Dictionary. By Madeleine S. and J. Lane Miller. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952. xii + 851 pages + 16 plate maps. $7.95 (Indexed, $8.95).

The authors of *Encyclopedia of Bible Life* have produced an even more useful study tool in this Bible dictionary. They were assisted in this prodigious endeavor by a number of specialists in various phases of Biblical studies, who contributed articles, charts, and counsel. Sixty articles which are in the nature of theological definitions were contributed by Edwin Lewis; Robert H. Pfeiffer is responsible for six articles dealing mainly with Old Testament subjects, the article on Immanuel is by Julius Bewer, and charts were supplied by Allen P. Wikgren and Frederick C. Grant. The counsel of W. F. Albright and G. E. Wright was sought from time to time on archaeological and historical matters ind it is Albright's chronology for the kings of Israel and Judah that is employed throughout the dictionary. The authors themselves, however, are responsible for the vast majority of the total number of articles, which is in excess of 3,000.

This volume is attractive, compact and convenient in size in spite of its more than 800 pages, and is blessed with clarity of type and of language. Its superiority to existing works of this nature lies in the fact that it is up-to-date, is excellently illustrated by some 400 photographs and 100 line drawings, and it makes for more effective use of archaeological and historical materials than was possible two or three decades ago. Also notable is its treatment of theological, textual, and critical terms as well as its articles on such background materials as archaeology, Dead Sea Scrolls, Ras Shamra, Rosetta Stone, Mamertine Prison, Baalbek, etc. The inclusion of the well-known Westminster Historical Maps of Bible Lands also greatly enhances the value and usefulness of the volume.

One of the most serious criticisms of this work is the lack of consistency on the part of the authors in handling materials with which they were not well acquainted. For example, the last paragraph on page 710 is hopelessly confused in its chronology. The Gutians, dated c.2180-2070 B.C., are represented as displaced by Gudea, who initiated a Sumerian renaissance c.2400 B.C. The confusion in the chronology of this period is further reflected in that the Ziggurat at Ur is represented as having been built by Ur-Nammu at three rather widely separated dates: c.2350 B.C. (p. 790); c.2250 B.C. (p. 710); and before 2000 B.C. (p. 840).

It is inevitable, of course, that mistakes will slip through in a work of this scope. Nevertheless, it is somewhat surprising to read (p. 87) that "The only reference to camels in the Pentateuch is Lev. 11:4 . . . ," whereas, in reality, they are referred to in four of the books of the Pentaeuch and 17 times in Genesis 24 alone.

A few such errors, however, must not be allowed to obscure the fact that it is best Bible dictionary for general use obtainable today. It should prove to be an extremely valuable study tool for pastors, teachers, writers, and all others interested in putting forth a serious effort in the study of the Bible.

Wm. H. Morton

Das Hebraische Denken im vergleich mit dem Griechischen. By T Boman. Gottingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1952. 186 pages. DM 9.80.

This book is a serious and penetrating study of the nature of and distinctions between Hebrew and Greek ways of thought. It is a valuable contribution at a time when the problem of semantics is much in the air, and when the issue of the nature of knowledge and the meaning of faith in Biblical thought are often discussed. The author finds his basis of discussion in the Hebrew Bible and in Plato. He believes that the customary contrast of Hebrew thought as dynamic and Greek as static is not sufficiently incisive, and argues that the fundamental distinction is to be found in the figures of hearing and seeing. The Hebrew emphasized hearing and word, whereas the Greek stressed sight and the thing. To the Hebrew, the meaning of reality was understood through hearing, whereas for the Greek it came via visual perception.

There is no space in this review to deal with what is of necessity a highly detailed piece of work. The author seeks to show the impact of the different ways of thinking upon the Greek and Hebrew views of the external appearance of people and things and of the nature and person of God. He notes the Hebrew emphasis on meaning and its tendency to be concerned with people's qualities rather than with their mere physical appearance. On the view of God, there is a useful discussion of anthropomorphisms and of the nature of the *imago dei*.

Boman's theme is elaborated in various ways. He shows that *logos* is not a dynamic but an intellectual concept, whereas *dabhar* carries the connotation of moral act and bears the same character as the one who utters it. Again, he points out that the Hebrew thinks of things as instruments, as dynamic realities which God controls. The Greek thinks of things as symbols, as means to knowledge. Both views are true—the world is instrument as well as symbol, and our relation to God and the world requires both. The last chapter points out that the Hebrew approach is psychological whereas the Greek is logical. In consequence, the Greek seeks the objective truth, whereas the Hebrew is more concerned with existence, with history and morality, with law and life, and his approach is through personal consciousness rather than abstract ideas.

This is an excellent piece of work, often provocative and very occasionally wrong-headed. It breaks new ground in many directions, and the reviewer wishes more space were available to deal with issues like the treatment of time and eternity. The book places the Hebrew mode of thinking in its rightful place as a legitimate way of apprehending reality, a way which must not be dismissed as prelogical but which must rather be accepted as of equal validity with the Greek and possibly more fruitful.

E. C. Rust

Der Prophet Jeremia. Kap 1-25:13. By A. Weiser. Gottingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1952. 288 pages. DM 7.80.

This book is one of a series of commentaries, *Das Alten Testament Deutsch,* in which the valuable work of Gerhard van Rad on Genesis 1-12 has already appeared. The author is a distinguished Old Testament scholar and this commentary on Jeremiah has been eagerly awaited by many. It is only the first volume of a two volume commentary, and final judgment must await the appearance of the second volume. Already the value of the work is, however, evident. Dr. Weiser has retranslated the Hebrew in an attempt to draw out the rythmic forms of the prophetic message, and these are quite valuable in themselves. Unfortunately he has deferred the issues of introduction to the second volume, so that this book is concerned solely with translation and exegesis. As in his commentary on the Psalms in this same series, he shows himself a thorough convert to the cultic theory; and he looks for signs of cultic influence as determinative in the prophetic mind. He thinks that the idea of recurrent judgment through foreign nations has a cultic background and that Jeremiah I must be understood in these terms with its picture of the seething pot. Incidentally, he associates this with the Assyrians and Nebuchadrezzar and not with the Scythians. Weiser's characteristic emphasis appears also in the discussion of Chapter 7 with its text of the temple sermon and its attack on the sacrifices.

The commentary is a valuable addition to a scholarly series, and we commend it to all serious students of the prophet.

E. C. Rust

Die Welt des Alten Testaments: Einfuhrung in die Grenzgebiete der Alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft. By Martin Noth. Berlin: Verlag Alfred Topelmann, 1953. xvi 314 pages. DM 20.50.

This is a new edition of a very valuable contribution to Old Testament literature. The book is encyclopaedic in its range and attempts to offer to the student of the Old Testament a reliable introduction of every phase of thought in Old Testament studies. No

serious Old Testament student who is familiar with the German language, can afford to leave this book out of his book list, and in Germany it would be an indispensable. We have nothing quite like it in English. It covers, in an authoritative and completely up-to-date way, such diverse matters as the geography, natural history, and racial and political backgrounds of Palestine, the archaeological discoveries made in the Bible lands, the great historical and cultural movements which provide the setting of Biblical history, and the characteristics of writing, speech and thought in both Semitic and near-Semitic peoples. The chronology of the Palestinian scene is dealt with in a most searching way. The religions of this setting of the divine revelation are carefully elaborated.

The reviewer found particularly valuable the section dealing with the history of the text of the Old Testament. The treatment of the Massoretes and the discussion of the Samaritan text repay study, as also does the consideration of the various versions of the Old Testament made by and employed within the Christian church.

The whole book is well documented from original sources. Its distinguished author has placed us all in his debt for this remarkably able revision of a book which has already an established place among students of the Old Testament.

E. C. Rust

Our English Bible in the Making. By Herbert Gordon May. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1952. 154 pages. $2.75.

The author of his work is Professor of Old Testament Language and Literature at the Oberlin Graduate School of Theology and, as a member of the Revised Standard Version Committee, he had an important place in the preparation of the new translation. He has presented this brief history of the making of the English Bible in ten authoritative, interesting, and understandable chapters. Six chapters trace the story from its earliest beginnings with Caedmon, Aldhelm, and Bede through the modern versions of the first half of the twentieth century; one chapter outlines the archaeological and manuscript discoveries of the past half century which have made a new translation both desirable and necessary; and two chapters set for the making and the literary values of the Revised Standard Version. A final chapter deals with the practical matter of making use of our English Bible.

Not only is the reader of this work supplied a basis for personal judgment on English translations of the Bible, but the author's larger purpose is realized—that of providing a better understanding for and appreciation of the nature of the Bible and of the love, care, and sacrifice that have accompanied its translation into living language.

A book of this nature (and preferably this one) should be accessible to everyone who professes to cherish the Word of God. Acquaintance with its contents would resolve most of the difficulties accompanying the presentation of a new translation.

Wm. H. Morton

The Christian Significance of the Old Testament. By A. J. Higgins. London: Independence Press, 1949. 190 pages. 8s 6d.

This is a small but nevertheless useful contribution to a much discussed issue. It sets out to relate the Old Testament to the ultimate revelation in Christ, and does so in a workmanlike and provocative way. Its author is now Lecturer in Old Testament at the University of Leeds and is a younger congregationalist scholar.

This book along with those of Phythian Adams, Hebert, Vischer, Woods, G. E. Philips and others shows a significant movement in modern theological thought. No longer do scholars think of the Old Testament as a mere antique survival of purely historical and archaeological interest—that alas was often the case, and the result was that, in the more liberal churches, few sermons were preached from the Old Testament. There is a serious effort to treat the Old Testament as Christian scripture and to study the Christian significance of the prophetic utterances and promises.

Dr. Higgins has undertaken this task. He treats Marcion with sympathy but firmness, and then develops a discussion of the Old Testament miracles in which he seeks to draw out the Hebrew way of thinking and to elaborate the movement of revelation in Old Testament religion. He reminds us that "we cannot pick and choose according to our taste. The *whole* of the history of the Hebrews is an integral part of the revelation." "It is easy enough," he continues, "to see God's revelation in the nobler of the Psalms and in the more inspired oracles of the prophets. It is much more difficult to see it in the primitive customs and beliefs of the people at an earlier stage of their development. But it is just as necessary here as it is there. Indeed, it is even more necessary, for it is precisely the misunderstanding of these primitive elements in the Old Testament which is doing so much to undermine its claim to be, as a whole, an integral part of Christian scripture"—a salutary warning to critical scholarship!!

There follow excellent discussions of the forward or Christward look of the Old Testament, which reminds us of Procksch's dictum that without Christ the Old Testament is like a torso without a head. The prophetic hopes and the Messianic expectations are fully considered, and then the use of the Old Testament scriptures in New Testament thought is passed in review. The closing chapters give really a summary of promise and fulfilment, of the unity of

the Old and New Testament revelation on the basis of covenant, remnant and Messiah.

This is a useful book for ministers. It gives a short compass the fruits of much modern scholarship. It preserves the evangelical faith and is heartily to be commended.

E. C. Rust

Die Verkuendigung des Reiches Gottes in der Kirche Jesu Christi. Vol. II: **Von der Christianisierung der Franken bis zum ersten Kreuzzug.** Complied by Ernest Staehelin. Basel: Verlag Friedrich Reinhardt AG., 1953 (preface date). 384 pages.

Professor E. Staehelin of the Theological Faculty of the University of Basel affords us in this volume, the second of a four-volume project, on *The Proclamation of the Kingdom of God in the Church of Jesus Christ.* Volume two, *From the Christianization of the Franks to the First Crusade,* presents much well known, but more little known and highly important material.

In a pattern made familiar by the first volume, Editor Staehelin provides brief introductions and comments on the texts he has chosen for inclusion in this work. Again, also, the reviewer is made to wish that just such a work were available in English. Such an anthology of source-materials in English would render great service to all who have interest enough in Christian history and thought to read relevant books. Certainly teachers of Biblical, historical, and theological subjects will be grateful for this rich mine of precious ore.

This second volume begins (Paragraph 50) with the rather crude, but apparently sincere, bargain proposed, when in dire military straits, by Clovis to Christ, the Lord of his Christian wife. It closes (Paragraph 88) with nine excerpts from relevant materials on the first crusade. In between are more than cursory notices of Caesarius of Arles, Justinian I, Gregory the Great, Isidore of Seville, Maximus the Confessor, and others (Chapter 8: to the destruction of Visigothic Kingdom);—the Venerable Bede, John of Damascus, Charlemagne, Gottschalk, Scotus Eriugena, Photius of Constantinople, and others, in the main lesser known (Chapter 9: the Carolingian Era); —Odo of Cluny, Aelfric, Peter Damian, Gregory VII, Anselm of Canterbury, and others (Chapter 10: The Age stamped by the Cluny Influence). Appendixes of Bible references, names, places, and subjects conclude and enhance the volume.

There is no other work of this kind. The four volumes, when completed, will afford the most comprehensive source-book we have for the History of Dogma, as well as for general Church History. Congratulations and best wishes are due to Professor Staehelin, and our thanks to the F. Reinhardt Press.

T. D. Price

The Bible Doctrine of Man. By C. Ryder Smith. London: Epworth Press, 1951. xiv, 274 pages. 18s 6d.

The Bible Doctrine of Sin. By C. Ryder Smith. London: Epworth Press, 1953. viii, 222 pages. 20s.

These two volumes help to swell the growing output of a veteran Methodist scholar. Those already familiar with Dr. Ryder Smith's earlier volumes will know what to expect in the two volumes under review — solid and scholarly discussion of the relevant Biblical material combined with occasional flashes of insight which lighten up the discussion. These volumes will add to the growing store of books which deal with Biblical theology and which witness to a fresh concern for Biblical foundations. Both will repay study and both ought to be on the shelves of the working minister.

In the first volume there is an able discussion of the nature of man. This pays due attention to Hebrew psychology, although the recent work of Johannes Pedersen and A. R. Johnson is neither referred to nor employed. Indeed, a weakness of this and the second volume is the absence of any reference to various scholarly authorities to whom the author is obviously much indebted. Dr. Smith passes in review the whole gamut of Biblical thought on man. He divides his theme into what might be called the actual and the ideal, the sphere of psychology and that of the potentialities implicit in the divine image, what man is and what man ought to be. On this basis, we are introduced to Old Testament thought, to the thinking of the intertestamental period and to the teaching of the New Testament. In each case the division between what man is and what man ought to be is followed. Dr. Smith rightly emphasizes the wholeness of man and deplores attempts to find any Aristotelian dichotomy or Greek view of the soul in the New Testament understanding of human nature. He indicates that the psychosomatic emphasis of much modern psychology is more in keeping with the Biblical view of man as a psycho-physical whole, in which both the body and the *psyche* play their part as the outer and inner aspects of the same unity of personality.

We shall join issue with Dr. Smith on his interpretation of "what man ought to be" in the Old Testament. He seems to think that there is some disparity betweent the Old and New Testaments on this point. The Old Testament is, for him, voluntarist and Pelagian. Man can do the whole will of God if he wants to do it. It is true that the Old Testament can be so interpreted in places, but the whole movement of the revelation points to the inadequacy of the old covenant to produce righteousness and create repentance. The preoccupation with sin and the sin sacrifice in the post-exilic period, the message of a new covenant, the emphasis on redemption and the Messianic hope all point to exactly the truth which the men of the New Testament recognized, that man is impotent to

save himself and that by the righteousness of the law shall no flesh be justified. This vitiates Dr. Smith's argument. His scholarship is pre-Kittel and shows little of the sense of the inner unity of Holy Scripture.

The somewhat Pelagian emphasis with regard to the Old Testament explains why Dr. Smith is concerned in the second volume to make original sin a mere societary matter. Sin spreads like a contagion because of environmental influences and not by hereditary transmission. The reviewer finds it difficult to interpret the full doctrine of the Bible in such terms, nor is he satisfied with Dr. Smith's somewhat facile exegesis of Romans 5:12-21. There are facets of Paul's thought in these verses which indicate that he ascribed an aetiological function to Adam's sin in the matter of our sin as well as of our death. Dr. Smith's substitution of "societary punishment" for "original sin" does not fit the profound analysis of sin that we find in Genesis 3 and in the prophets, nor is it enough to explain the tragic contradiction of the human heart which underlies the modern scene.

The second volume does, however, provide a valuable analysis of the Biblical view of sin, on lines similar to those used in the first volume for the analysis of the doctrine of man. There is an abundance of Scriptural evidence and we can be grateful that this is gathered together so well and made available to students. Sometimes it is so prolific that we have difficulty in seeing the wood for the trees. We question, however, whether anyone reading the volume on sin will find it as profitable as the profound discussion of sin in Kittel's *Theological Wordbook*. This article has now been made available in English and should be read as a supplement and corrective to what Dr. Smith has to say.

E. C. Rust

Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians. By F. W. Grosheide. Grand Rapids, Michigan; Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1953. 415 pages. $5.00.

This is one of the three volumes published thus far in the projected seventeen volume series called *The New International Commentary on the New Testament*. The other two already available are *Commentary on Luke*, by Norval Geldenhuys, and *Commentary on Galations*, by H. N. Ridderbos. All three of these studies are of genuine worth.

Dr. Grosheide has been a Professor of New Testament at the Free University of Amsterdam since 1912, and is the author of a number of books published in his native language, including six volumes of *Kommentaar op Het Nieuwe Testament*. The text which

is printed in this work is that of the American Standard Version, though the author often refers to the more recent translations, especially the RSV. One wonders if the editors have not decreased the readability of the series in order to avoid unwarranted criticism.

The author constantly employs his excellent knowledge of the Greek language in his interpretation, though Greek words and phrases are themselves relegated to the footnotes. It is thus quite possible for the Bible student who does not know Greek to use the commentary without too much difficulty, but still provides additional insight for the more fortunate. While the exegesis is detailed enough to give help on each verse, and, indeed, nearly every phrase, the writer does not give way to the temptation to discuss related ideas at any length.

Dr. Grosheide does not often quote other authorities or cite their opinions when differing from his own; yet his interpretations are for the most part closely related to those of such a commentary as that of Robertson-Plummer. His style lacks the gifted attractiveness it might possess were he writing in his native language, but is nevertheless clear and direct.

Ministers and other Bible students will find this commentary a helpful and useful work.

Henry E. Turlington

The Spreading Flame. By F. F. Bruce. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1953. 543 pages. $5.00.

This study of "The Rise and Progress of Christianity" brings together, under one title, three small books published separtely in England. These three in order were: *The Dawn of Christianity* (from the beginning to A.D. 70); *The Growing Day* (from the fall of Jerusalem to A.D. 313); and *Light in the West* (from the accession of Constantine to the barbarian displacements on the continent and to the religious unification of the English people under Christianity).

The author, professor of Biblical history and literature in the University of Sheffield, is conservative in point of view and at the same time versed in historical methodology. The book cannot be called epoch-making, but it is a competent study and report on the major issues of the history of early Christianity. Professor Bruce is well-read in the literature of the subject, and skillfully traces the triumph of Christianity over the ill-timed attentions of its friends and the persistent opposition of its opponents.

A careful reading of the work will be worth much more than the time it costs.

T. D. Price

Dominations and Powers: Reflections on Liberty, Society and Government. By George Santayana. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951. xv, 481 pages. $4.50.

This is the last of more than thirty books by one of the best known philosophers of this century. Santayana had a long and productive life, beginning in 1863 in Avila, Spain, and ending eighty-eight years later (1952) in Rome, Italy. He came to America as a child and he grew up in Boston and was educated at Harvard. After retiring from a professorship in philosophy at Harvard in 1912, Santayana lived in France, Spain, England and Italy and continued his writing. Beginning with *The Sense of Beauty*, in 1896, he wrote on most of the important problems of human existence. *Dominations and Powers* does for Santayana what the *Politics* did for Aristotle. The discussion of the problems of human existence in society logically concludes the other problems.

This book reveals the Santayana of the other works; brilliant and lucid, skeptical and poetic, imaginative and stimulating, and cheerful in the face of pessimism. He is essentially a materialist and skeptic who uses intuition and poetic imagination to organize life and give it a purpose. There remains the primary aim of being civilized and decent. As always much useful wisdom is made available to those who can use it, but it lacks a center, a point of organization. "I have become aware," he says, "that anyone's sense of what is good and beautiful must have a somewhat narrow foundation; namely, his circumstances and his particular brand of human nature." This ethical relativism explains why "Neither historical investigation, therefore, nor political precepts are to be looked for in this book. All that it professes to contain is glimpses of tragedy and comedy played unaware by governments; and a continual intuitive reduction of political maxims and institutions to the intimate spiritual fruits that they are capable of bearing."

Guy H. Ranson

Ancient Hebrew Seals. By A. Reifenberg, London: The East and West Library (N. Y. distributor, Farrar, Straus and Young, Inc.), 1950. 58 pages. 12s 6d.

Professor Reifenberg, a specialist on ancient Jewish coins, here turns his attention to the somewhat related study of inscribed seals from Palestine dating from the time of the Hebrew monarchy. A few contemporary ivories and reliefs from neighboring countries have also been brought under consideration in order that cultural cross-fertilization may be apparent.

Approximately one-third of the book sets forth a discussion of such matters as the origin, use, purpose, workmanship, language, and style of the seals; the remainder of the work is devoted to

fifty-two illustrations and their accompanying descriptive notes. The author interprets the seal inscriptions as giving evidence of the growing religious consciousness of the Jewish people, and in their glyptic art he finds illustrations of such items of Biblical interest as cherubim, seraphim, and the art of Solomon's temple.

Wm. H. Morton

The Crisis In The Life of Jesus. By Ernest F. Scott. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1952. 152 pages. $2.50.

One of the most crucial moments in the life of Jesus and one that according to Scott has been treated with too little significance was the incident of the cleansing of the Temple. The author contends that this act, more than anything else Jesus did, revealed "the nature of the forces which opposed him and at last effected his death." He believes that Jesus had a profound reverence for the Temple and tried to preserve it from sacrilege. The Temple, as perceived by Jesus, pointed to something beyond itself and it was His task to reveal the reality of which the Temple was a shadow.

In discussing the motives for cleansing the Temple, Scott rightly affirms that Jesus did not cleanse the holy place merely because he revered it and desired to purify it from a grave abuse. One of the motives which the author gives for the cleansing is the view that is commonly held which is a proclamation of Messiahship. However, I can not agree with the author when he states that this act on the part of Jesus also served to bring the priests who had been his real adversaries into the open. This he explains as being the chief reason for Jesus' journey to Jerusalem. It is hardly possible that the priests were overly concerned about the work of Jesus in Galilee.

It is true that the cleasing of the Temple incident in the life of Jesus has received too little attention from New Testament scholars. It is hoped that this book will be a stimulus for additional studies on the subject.

Taylor C. Smith

Daily Life of Early Christians. By J. G. Davies. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1953 xvi, 268 pages. $3.50.

It has been the habit of Christian theologians and historians to give primary attention to the thought and ecclesiastical structure in the study of the early Church. This means one of the most important aspects of early Christianity has been neglected; the daily life. What did the faith and worship mean to the Christians as it applied to their every day lives, their customs, habits, occupations, dress, diet, speech, recreation, associations, and all their actions? We must have the answer to this question if we are to understand

the early Church, because Christianity is a way of life. This is the question that Mr. Davies attempts to answer. He knows well both the methodology of the social historian and the faith of Christians, and these are the prerequisites for his task. His academic training at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge and his pastoral and teaching duties have prepared him to write clearly and with feeling.

Mr. Davies prepared this history by studying six persons in their environment. He begins with Clement, a converted Greek philosopher who became the head of the Christian school in Alexandria at the end of the second century. Clement studied carefully the pagan and Christian ways of life and exhorted the Christians to be devoted to their owy way. Paul of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch in the middle of the second century, was a theological heretic and a moral compromiser. In Victoria of Carthage is pictured a Christian woman who is willing to die for her faith when the emperor Diocletian, about the end of the third century, is bent upon exterminating Christianity. Diogenes of Rome represents the daily life of the Roman working class after Christianity became a legal religion. John Chrysostom, preacher at Constantinople at the beginning of the fifth century, is seen in his warfare against the worldliness that came into the Church when it was given a favored position in society and it made an appeal to the fashionable. Finally, John Cassian is seen in Marseilles in the fifth century leading Christians away from the worldliness in the Church into the monastery.

Guy H. Ranson

Heritage of Buddha: the Story of Siddhartha Gautama. By Celina Luzanne. New York: Philosophical Library, 1953. 290 pages. $3.75.

This book is a fictionalized account of the life of Gautama. The author has adhered fairly closely to the Buddhist traditions,—with one exception to which she calls attention in the foreword. But the traditions are overlaid with highly imaginative material designed to make an attractive story.

Of course for such factual knowledge about the life of Gautama as we are able to acquire we are dependent upon critical studies of the traditions; but *Heritage of Buddha* no doubt has value in recreating the atmosphere of ancient India in which the Buddha lived his life. Moreover, the inspiring story of the founder of Buddhism is here told in an entertaining manner, though the interests of edification would have been better served if Gautama's participation in the sensuous delights of his father's court had been treated with less of imaginative detail.

Interwoven in the story is an interpretation of Guatama's personal religion which is open to serious question. For example, he is represented as interceding for Devad, the wicked "dark prince,"

and Sundari, the pathetic temple harlot, "before the Great Presence"; and in the crisis which the affair of these two provoked "he found the calm of resting the matter in the care of the All Powerful 'Great and holy One, in my soul and in all the world, and worlds to come—I have faith in thy guiding hand,' he said, and lay down on his mat." p. 246-247). This ascribes to the founder of Buddhism a dependence upon deity—albeit a vague, pantheistic, conception—which the tradition does not support. No doubt the author reads her own convictions into the life of Buddha. She seems to hold to an impersonal, pantheistic belief in God as Infinite Mind, and with bold naivete she does not hesitate to fit Jesus as well as Gautama into this faith. "And in clear thought," she declares, "I saw Buddha's way converge with the Jesus Mount-path—Jesus and His Fatherhood was in a sense the same as Buddha and Infinite Mind—Jesus but put in practice the healing of the Buddha ideology, Mind Healing; their 'Power' was the same!

"And shall we not see when fears and prejudices are finally lifted that East and West are 'one' as clearly we shall know in the new science horizon—all of life is at oneness with Immutable Mind—or God." (from the foreword).

E. L. Copeland

Christianity and the Problem of History. By Roger Lincoln Shinn. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953. xiv, 302 pages. $4.50.

In this able and provocative study Dr. Shinn, Professor of Philosophy and Religion at Heidelberg College in Ohio, brings forth the fruit of almost two decades of wrestling with the problem of understanding the meaning of human life on earth. The problem dealt with here is one of the most pressing of our day, because while the most rapid advances have been made in learning and technology in this century the world has been bent upon destroying itself through warfare. Mr. Shinn does not pretend to answer all of the questions, but he has given us a first-rate introduction to the problem and to the thoughts of some of the great minds of the centuries who have illumined it. "I hope a reader may find here," he says, "not something strikingly new, but some help to understanding and appropriating past and present Christian thought about history." This is just what any reader will find in the book, and thereby the book becomes a most useful one for ministers and teachers.

The introductory chapter is occupied with the various problems of interpretating history. Part One, Chapters II and III, is concerned with St. Augustine and "the tree strands" of the thread of history. Thomas Aquinas is studied as the chief representative of the strand of the Church understood to be the fulfillment of history. Luther is seen to represent the strand of radical eschatology. Calvin

is seen as representing the dynamic idea of history. Part Two, Chapters IV-VIII, is devoted to examinations of the idea of progress, Marxism, modern Roman Catholic interpretations, biblical eschatology, and Toynbee. The conclusion, Chapter IX, is devoted to the problem of Christian faith in the sovereign God in the face of evil and failures in this life.

The chief value of the book is to be found in the clear and forceful way that Mr. Shinn emphasizes the necessity of holding the three strands together. He contends that there can be no complete understanding of history because God is not revealed completely within this human existence, and even then He is revealed in large part in love and meekness and suffering and seeming defeat. Eschatology is understood to be the central strand because history derives its meaning from the fact that the Kingdom of God is in part present in it. In viewing eschatology one must avoid two opposite extremes; other-worldliness, and this-worldliness. Other-worldliness condemns this life in favor of the one to come in heaven. This-worldliness identified social processes wit hthe Kingdom. A Christian must affirm both this world and the life to come, because the Kingdom is both a present reality and a future expectation. The dynamic strand insists that history under a sovereign God moves forward. It avoids two extremes: history as meaningless, and historical progress as the meaning and goal of history. History is not meaningless because progress is not simply development from simple to complex, but it is being transformed by the Kingdom which is present and growing secretly. The ecclesiastical strand maintains that in the Church, the community of faith, the first fruit and the sign of the Kingdom which will come in power in the future, are present to the body of Christ. There can be no clear grasp of the thread, but the eyes of faith see the sovereignty of God in the three strands, and the trusting man finds not complete but sufficient satisfaction..

Guy H. Ranson

Buddhism and Zen. By Nyogen Senzaki and Ruth Strout McCandless. New York: Philosophical Library, 1953. 91 pages. $3.75.

In spite of its comparative smallness in numbers, no sect of Buddhism has had such a profound effect upon Japanese culture as has Zen; and certainly none is so impossible of description. If one seeks in Zen Buddhism a coherent philosophy he is doomed to disappointment. Sometimes it seems to teach the monism associated with the Upanishads of Hinduism, the identification of the inner soul (Atman) with the world soul (Brahman) so strikingly expressed by the familiar Hindu statement "That art thou!"; but again a Zen teacher will declare, "There is no this, no that, no I and no you." Of course the truth is that Zen professes to teach nothing. It is

truly esoteric. It is to be experienced in a sudden flash of insight, and even if one experiences it he cannot explain it. Therefore, any book on Zen Buddhism written by a member of that sect is apt to be difficult if not impossible of comprehension. The book under review is no exception. One might puzzle for many moons over the meaning of the following questions and answers: "What is Buddha-mind? Your mind is it. . . . What is Tathagata? One who knows that he comes from nowhere and goes nowhere. What is Buddha? One who realizes the truth, and holds nothing that is to be realized."

Buddhism and Zen is by no means a descriptive introduction to Zen, but it may serve as well as any to acquaint the student with the logically incomprehensible, esoteric nature of this religion. The principal author is the Zen Buddhist monk, Nyogen Senzaki, Ruth McCandless only attaching her initials to a very brief introduction—though presumably she has aided in the translations which comprise much of the book.

There is a chapter on the ten questions "most frequently asked by non-Buddhists," and the answers which are given reflect the standpoint of Zen Buddhism, although the inference is that they are applicable to Buddhism as a whole.

The book's chief value is that it gives in English some translations of certain ancient Zen Buddhist writings. One chapter is given to a quite poetic rendering of the Sho-do-ka (Song of Realization) of Yoka-daishi (Yung Chia), an early Zen master who died in 713 A.D. Attached to these verses is a commentary by Mr. Senzaki comprised of his own explanations of this poem to his students. The comments often prove as interesting and as instructive about Zen Buddhism as does the poem itself. Also there are some "Fragmentary Notes of Bodhi-Dharma's Disciples" which were discovered at Tung Huang early in this century and published in Japan by D. T. Suzuki in 1933. This ancient writing is here given in English, purportedly for the first time. Bodhi-Dharma is said to be the founder of Zen (Chinese, "Ch'an") Buddhism, who came from India to China in the sixth century A.D. These notes are in the form of questions by a student and answers by Bodhi-Dharma. Comments are added here and there by Mr. Senzaki. All of which makes for a repartee which is amusing in spots, as the following:

> Question: If one attains the Nirvana of an artist, has he Zen realization?
> Answer: He is just dreaming and so are you.
> Comment: Just like Bodhi-Dharma! Did you hear what he said?

Why should the book be entitled "Buddhism and Zen"? Since there is practically no discussion of Buddhism in general, and very little attempt to show the relation of Zen to other forms of Buddhism, the title seems inappropriate.

E. L. Copeland

Some Tendencies in British Theology. By J. K. Mozley. London: S.P.C.K., 1952. 166 pages. 10s 6d.

The late Canon Mozley has left behind him in this volume a worthy posthumous addition to a lifetime of theological writing. We welcome this analysis of the British theological scene across the last one hundred years. It is noteworthy, as one would expect from its distinguished author, for the catholicity of its viewpoint. One chapter is devoted, for instance, to the Scottish tradition, and Dr. Mozley deals faithfully with the giants who have dominated the theology and determined the movements of thought in the Scottish Church during the past century.

The book is somewhat heavily weighted on the episcopalian side, but that, of course, is natural in an English writer who belongs to the Anglican tradition. Dr. Mozley ably analyzes the Tractarian movement and its later repercussions. He sets the Modern Churchman Movement of Dr. Major and Canon Raven in its proper setting, gives a good analysis of the Anglo-Catholic renaissance and its vast contribution to theological learning, and assesses the contribution of the evangelicals and of the Evangelical Group Movement in particular. He rightly points to the significance of Baron von Hugel and Bishop Gore upon English theological thinking, and believes that the English scene is today marked by a resurgence of solid theological thought without commitment to any particular philosophical system. English theologians have not, he contends, been so influenced by contemporary movements in philosophy as their continental neighbors nor have they reached the same extremes. There is a more detached and equable temper than in the German scene. Mozley makes much of P. T. Forsyth, and actually Forsyth affords a good example of this point, as we compare his much less frenzied orthodoxy with the often fevered utterances of Barth. Mozley's final comment bears quoting, for it illustrates the characteristic English attitude: ". . . in the work, of anyhow, the most competent English theologians a certain comprehensive spirit is to be marked which can make itself at home in the fields alike of Biblical, of dogmatic, and of philosophical exposition." This is open to the danger of superficiality, but it is far better than the narrow and unimaginative specialism to which some theological thought is open. Mozley regards William Temple as a good illustration of this, and describes him justly as "the constructive Christian philosopher, with a comprehensiveness of outlook and a mastery of the art of exposition such as is very rarely met."

As for Scotland, Mozley introduces us to the Caird brothers, James Denney, H. R. Mackintosh, W. P. Paterson, D. S. Cairns, the brothers Baillie and many others, in a masterly survey of the calvinistic strain which in both liberal and rigidly orthodox forms, dominates the north of the British Isles. He thinks that there may

be seen in Scotland a movement parallel to the neo-calvinism of Europe. He does not cite T. F. Torrance, who certainly represents such a movement among the younger men, but he rightly sees G. S. Hendry, John McConnachie and G. T. Thomson as significant pointers. The last section of this chapter deals with Westminster College, Cambridge, and the "Scots in exile." John Oman's towering figure receives its rightful tribute. Mozley's last words may be echoed by us all: "I cannot take leave (of the Scottish tradition) without expressing my sense of the debt that Christians of other communions owe to its representatives, for all that they have done to uphold and illuminate the truth of the Gospel.

One omission is striking. The great Baptist contribution to Old Testament studies receives no mention. T. H. Robinson, H. Wheeler Robinson and H. H. Rowley are not noticed. It is striking, too, that Hoskyns takes a prime place in New Testament studies, which many of us would broaden to include C. H. Dodd and T. W. Manson, who incidentally are paid but passing attention.

For students of the British scene this book is a valuable piece of work.

E. C. Rust

Christian Faith and Social Action. Edited by John A. Hutchison. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953. 242 pages. $3.50.

Back in 1930 a group of scholars with a concern for the relation of the Christian faith and the baffling issues of social policy organized the Fellowship of Socialist Christians. From 1947 to 1951 this group was known as the Frontier Fellowship. Now it has become known as Christian Action. This volume was written by members of the Fellowship. Reinhold Niebuhr, to whom the book is dedicated, has been the guiding light of the group. Other notables contributing to the symposium are Paul Tillich, John C. Bennett, Edward Heimann, and Liston Pope. These essays, thirteen in all, articulate some of the common convictions of these original members of the Fellowship from 1930 to 1951.

At first the group was content to regard "Socialism as an application of fundamental religious ideas to the specific problems of contemporary society." However, as Socialism appeared increasingly obsolete, they sought for a different principle. Finally, they came to the concept of respect for personality. They did not, however, give up their interest in "Socialist analyses of concrete problems and in Socialist criticism of Capitalism."

Claiming as a main purpose to rediscover the biblical faith in ways relevant to contemporary social action, the Followship was in active controversy with conventional religion, Marxism, the Social

Gospel, and secular liberalism. Thus, the reader is ushered right up on the frontiers of theological and social thought in America.

Here is a wealth of material on the implications of Christianity for contemporary society. Certainly no student of social ethics can afford to ignore this volume.

Henlee Barnette

Metaphysical Journal. By Gabriel Marcel. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1952. xiii, 344 pages. $6.50.

This is the English translation of the French work which was published in Paris in 1927. It reflects Marcel's thoughts on problems of existence from January 1914 to May 1923, and it, therefore, contains not his most recent but his early thought. Because Marcel has become more systematic with the passing of time, the *Journal* is not as coherent as *The Mystery of Being* nor as pointed as *The Philosohpy of Existence.* Marcel here employs the peculiar style of recording his reflections on various problems of existence just as they occurred from day to day. Most of the major problems of philosophy are examined at one time or another, and the insights are often penetrating and arresting. One responds to his examination of Kant's concept of time, Descartes' *cogito ergo sum,* and many other important problems.

The theme of the *Methaphysical Journal* is not metaphysics conceived as the interpretation of all reality but as the nature of particular personal existence. He repudiates the usual meaning of metaphysics as an error of idealism. Like other existentialists, Marcel is concerned with existence as it is experienced personally by the individual and he insists that the attempt to reduce existence to ideas distorts the understanding of being. Reality is, therefore, not to be grasped primarily in concepts but to be experienced in living situations. Although he has much in common with other existentialists, he is antithetical to the atheistic thought of Sartre in maintaining that one encounters not self alone but God, and he parts company with Jaspers in maintaining that a system such as Thomism is not necessarily excluded but can be confirmed existentially.

Guy H. Ranson

Science and Religion. By C. E. Raven. London: Cambridge University Press, 1953. vii, 224 pages. 21s.

The Christian Faith and Natural Science. By Karl Heim. New York: Harper & Bros., 1953. 256 pages. $3.50.

In treating these two books together, we are bearing testimony to the increasing concern for an apologetic of the Christian faith in relation to science. No two men have endeavored to do this in

their own distinctive ways more than have Charles Raven, the Cambridge scholar, in England, and Karl Heim, the Tubingen scholar, in Germany. Both have contended for the faith in the light of modern scientific thought throughout their teaching careers, and both are still doing it in their retirement. The volume by Dr. Raven constitutes the first half of his recently delivered Gifford Lectures. That by Dr. Heim is a translation of the first half of the fourth volume in his noteworthy series that began with *Glaube und Denken* (available in translation as *God Transcendent*).

Dr. Raven has himself had training as a biologist, and has made valuable contributions to the history of biological science as well as to theological study. He traces in this volume the history of the inter-relations between science and religion, commencing with the biblical attitude towards nature, and passing in review the issues raised by the Mediaeval period together with the new science of Renaissance period. He shows that alongside the mathematical view of science which emerged with Descartes and Newton and which ultimately led to mechanistic materialism and determination, there was also a much more holistic and organic approach among those who were concerned with living things. John Ray, the English naturalist, preserved with predecessors and successors in the biological field, a profound insight into the natural order which allowed for the presence of purpose and divine wisdom. Dr. Raven's discussion of Darwinism and the controversy of the last century is admirably balanced, and he offers a valuable picture of the present situation in the closing chapter. He rightly says that the field is open now for a true rapprochment between science and religion. Where we would call him in question is whether his own advocacy of liberalism is the answer. We cannot answer scientific materialism by selling out on the fall and on miracle, on the authority of Holy Scripture and the argument from prophecy. There is another way which modern Biblical and philosophical theology is pointtng out to us. Dr. Raven does not want this, and it will be interesting to see what solution he offers in the second volume of these lectures.

This is not to depreciate a book which gives an excellent and authoritative study of science and religion in their historical relations. Every minister ought to possess this book and refer to it, in days when modern science cannot be ignored but when our best young people are being brought face to face with the facts that it presents.

Karl Heim's book moves in, just at the point where Charles Raven's approach seems deficient. He will not sell out on the miraculous or liberalize the essential faith. Those familiar with his thought, will expect him to make much of his theory of spaces and dimensions, already adumbrated in *God Transcendent,* and employed to good effect in *Jesus der Herr* and *Jesus der Weltvollender.* Despite

the criticism that has been leveled against Heim's use of spatial imagery as analogies on which to base an understanding of the divine transcendence, we must confess that we find the argument both helpful and fascinating. This book, no less than the earlier works, carries the reader with it and confirms faith in the Christian revelation, not against the findings of science, but in the light of them. Dr. Heim believes that science deals with the dead world of the past, the already become, an idea elaborated also in Bergson and Martin Buber. The actual present is the creative flux of possibilities. Here God, man, the energies of nature at the physical and vital levels are in creative encounter, and out of this encounter, the static, frozen world with which science deals, emerges. Science cannot probe into this existential situation, and analyse the mysterious forces that we call physical energy and life. It can only study the results of their activity. The same applies to us studying the human will. Phychology is limited at its best and at its worst it becomes mere demagogy.

On the basis of this approach, Heim attempts to understand the divine transcendence, and the nature and function of science. He gives an able analysis of relativism and positivism, and is at his best in the discussion of the movement beyond such a relativistic or descriptive view of nature to the ontological deeps that underly it. He postulates a suprapolar space which embraces all our spaces and yet transcends them, an archetypal space which is uniquely related to them and whose relationship is not describable in terms of analogues drawn from our intramundane relations. To be discovered by God is to have a door opened into another space, to be delivered from the tyranny of things, the objective It-space, to realize that "while we are encompassed on all sides by the temporal world, we stand at the same time even now in the midst of eternity and are enclosed within the archetypal space of God." "It is," writes Heim of the first experience of faith, "a transformation which takes place in the depths of our existence and which we cannot ourselves bring about by force. It is as when one who has been born blind receives the gift of sight, so that a world with quite new dimensions is suddenly accorded to him as a boon from heaven." So we discover a new dimenion in faith. The dimension of the suprapolar space which is God, who both transcends all our spaces and yet has his own mode of entering them. Heim's work has for many years been used by the reviewer as a basis for the discussion of the miraculous and of the Incarnation, and this book has invaluable insights for the Christian apologist.

We have no space to discuss Heim's interpretation of the general nature of God, of natural law and of guilt, but we cannot forbear one last reference to the concluding challenge of secularism or theism. God cannot be attained by rational or empirical demonstra-

tion. We have no means at our disposal for breaking out of the endless prison of our polar spaces (i.e., our ego-orientated spaces) and entering the suprapolar space of God. We cannot see the invisible God even by logical deduction from the contents of our polar spaces. Yet such "sight" does come to us. The trouble is that those who do not share this "sight" and who are still imprisoned in their polar spaces, regard it as utterly inconceivable. Such "sight" is faith, "the general condition on which we find ourselves if we are living completely consciously in the suprapolar space, with the same confidence and security with which the thorough-going secularist lives entirely in the polar space and regards as real only what confronts him in the form of this space, what, in other words, can be seen and touched and inferred from tangible facts. For any one who with all his thinking is held prisoner in the polar space, the entire psychological attitude which finds its expression in faith is totally incomprehensible." So Heim holds that "only from the completely different dimension of suprapolar space . . . can arise this certainty which can be shaken by nothing that is of this world." Here is the challenge to preach the Gospel, for the Gospel is the Word from the "Beyond which is most near," that awakens in all hearts the response of faith and opens our eyes to the invisibilities of the all-embracing and yet transcendent space of God.

This is a book for preacher, thinker and apologist. It offers an eirenicon of science and religion which does not, like Raven's position, sell out on the most central things of our most holy faith. Buy Raven for the historical background of the science-religion controversy, and Heim for a positive message and constructive thinking in our own time.

E. C. Rust

Society and Sanity. By F. J. Sheed. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1953. 274 pages. $3.00.

In this work Mr. Sheed presents a popularly written introduction to the principles of Roman Catholic social ethics. This work is concerned with human relationships (love of neighbor), and logically follows the earlier work, *Theology and Sanity,* which was concerned with the relationship to God (love of God).

The thesis of this book is that we must reconstruct society through the recovery of the Christian doctrine of man. Man essentially is the image of God and existentially is a fallen creature. The task is to construct a society in which existential man will coincide with essential man. Man is by nature created in the image of God. Man, therefore, must be respected as man and not treated as a thing of utility. This gives to man worth as a person and it is the task of men to organize society in which personal values will be

paramount. This means that man's life and freedom are to be protected. This must be achieved through organized society based on moral law and in which love and trust among men are paramount. Applications of these principles are studied in relation to the most intimate social institution, the family, and the most comprehensive, the state.

The book is engagingly and skillfully written and is filled with clever phrases and brilliant insights. It will have a greater appeal to the general reader than to the scholar. The primary weakness of the book is the misunderstanding that the author has of God's grace. He fails to see that grace is not a thing, a substance, but God's creative activity. This appears particularly in the discussions of freedom, law, and love. With regard to freedom, Mr. Sheed is semi-pelagian and fails to see that freedom comes through God's grace and is not simply a deformed natural power of man. In regard to law, he fails to see that man is able to respond to his obligation only through God's redeeming activity and not through an exertion of his own will. With regard to love, he fails to see that man's love of fellow man is a response to God's love and not simply the human power of being benevolent to others.

Guy H. Ranson

Apostle to Islam. By J. Christy Wilson. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1952. 261 pages. $4.00.

Without any question, the outstanding authority on missions to Moslems in the last generation was Samuel W. Zwemer. Cofounder of an independent mission to Arabia in 1889 while he was still a seminary student, Zwemer went to Arabia in 1891 to pioneer in the most difficult and dangerous field then known. He soon became the acknowledged leader of the mission, which was before long made a part of the recognized work of the Dutch Reformed Church. So outstanding were his achievements, especially in the area of literature for Moslems, that it was felt that he belonged to the larger area of interdenominational planning and promotion of missions to the Mohammedan world. In this new capacity, he made his headquarters in Cairo, Egypt, from 1912 until 1929. From Cairo as a base he traveled widely and spoke constantly.

In 1929 Dr. Zwemer answered the call of Princeton Theological Seminary to become professor of History of Religion and Missions, a post he occupied until his retirement at seventy-one in 1938. He continued to edit the *Moslem World*, a quarterly which he had founded, and to be active in many other ways in the promotion of missions, until his death in 1952. He left more than forty books, most of them on the subject of the evangelization of Mohammedans.

This full-length biography of Zwemer was written by one who knew him intimately, who was also a missionary to Islam, and who succeeded to the chair of Missions in Princeton Seminary. It is a much-needed record of a great life.

H. C. Goerner

The Nature of Law. By Thomas E. Davitt. St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1951. 274 pages. $4.00.

In this book Professor Davitt, School of Law of St. Louis University, makes a significant contribution to our understanding of the nature and basis of law. The study is particularly welcome at this time because recent international crises have made it necessary that we examine carefully the nature of obligation and the foundation of an order in society. Father Davitt thinks that the basis of law must be found in the nature of man and he makes a study of some great thinkers who have made contributions to our understanding of the problem. These are divided into two groups: those who understand the will to be primary, and those who understand the intellect to be primary. Henry of Ghent, John Duns Scotus, William Ockham, Gabriel Biel, Alphonse de Castro, and Francis Suarez represent the primacy of the will, and Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas, Cajetan, Dominic Soto, Bartholomew Medina, and Robert Bellarmine represent the primacy of the intellect.

The work is well done and will prove a help to students of philosophy and theology as well as to those of law. The work does not lay a complete foundation for law, as the author believes, because in order to do this attention would have to be given to Plato, Aristotle, Grotius, Hobbes, Kant, and others. The work is limited to a particular period of time, the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries, and to one point of view, law based in the nature of man, but a contribution is made within these limitations.

Guy H. Ranson

The Taming of the Nations. By F. S. C. Northrop. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1952. 362 pages. $5.00.

No one who is seriously concerned about the possibility of finding some way to world peace short of atomic war can afford to overlook this timely book. It is not easy reading; but then the problem of bringing the many nations and cultures of the world into a workable **modus vivendi** is not easy. One of the chief values of Northrop's writing, in this and previous works, is to warn us that our over-simpliciations are doomed to failure.

Taking his cue from the distinguished sociologist, Eugen Ehrlich, Professor Northrop points out that every people has its "living

law," which is that unwritten set of norms tacitly accepted by the majority. "Positive law," or the written, codified laws of the land, are effective and possible of enforcement only so far as they embody the "living law." When two or more nations or societies are brought into relationship under international laws, these laws can be expected to operate only if they accurately reflect the inner living laws of the nations concerned. The present chaotic condition within United Nations is due to the fact that we have assumed that other nations would interpret international law according to **our** living law, while they in turn are judging us according to their own inner law. The behavior of India in the Korean situation is a case in point.

Is there then any common ground on which effective international law can be based? Northrop finds it in "cultural pluralism," which is a frank and tolerant recognition of ideological differences, so far as they do not infringe on the ways of others. Another oversimplification? Read the book and decide for yourself.

H. C. Goerner

Faith and Moral Authority. By Ben Kimpel. New York: Philosophical Library, 1953. 186 pages. $2.75.

This essay by Mr. Kimpel, Professor of Philosophy in Drew University, achieves a lucid and brilliant presentation of ethics based upon universal moral principles. He argues convincingly of the necessity of basing corporate life upon valid moral principles. He thinks the present chaotic condition in western culture is both a product and a cause of the various forms of anti-metaphysical philosophy which emphasize individual desires and experiences as the basis of right conduct. Existentialism, Positivism and Pragmatism are analyzed clearly and pointedly and found inadequate to deal with man's social existence.

The critiques of Moritz Schlick and Karl Jaspers are particularly well done. Recovery of an adequate social existence must come through the recovery of moral faith, action and authority, Kimpel argues. Moral faith is a conviction that universally valid principles for action can be known. Moral insight is discovery of specific ways to act upon this faith. Moral authority is the imperative placed upon one by the truth of the principles themselves. He says this was the faith of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, and constitutes the grand tradition of classical ethical theory. This is the faith that was given a real grounding in Christian faith in a universal God who purposes good for man, he continues. This is the faith which has created good societies in the past, and which is the basis of hope for the future. Such a book is well worth reading. It will be particularly welcomed by those who are weary of ethics in which man is the measure of things.

Guy H. Ranson

Citizens of the World. By Stringfellow Barr. New York: Doubleday and Company, 1953. 285 pages. $3.00.

The author warns in the very first chapter that this book is apt to irritate many of its readers. The extent of the irritation will depend upon what the reader thinks of T.V.A., the Marshall Plan, and Point Four. It will also depend upon how far he is aware of the World Revolution which is now in progress. For this is the serious proposal that there should be constituted as soon as possible an International Development Authority, patterned after the Tennessee Valley Authority, but on an international scale so vast that T.V.A. would look like a child's toy. This Authority, designed to develop the underdeveloped areas of the whole world, to increase the food supply, and raise the standard of living of the billion of underfed and underprivileged, is Stringfellow Barr's alternative to World War Three. Costly it would be, admittedly; and with the United States bearing the heaviest part of the burden. But not nearly as costly, either in dollars or in lives, as atomic war, regardless of its outcome.

The more you are irritated by this suggestion, the more you need to read the book. It may not be the final answer; it is a graphic diagnosis of the problem which confronts us. Dedicated "to those that hunger," it is an evangelistic plea that we who are well-fed not only "join the human race" (as Barr's previous book urged), but become active and responsible "citizens of the world," before it is too late. H. C. Goerner

The Good Life. By E. Jordan. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949. 453 pages. $5.00.

This is one of the most important books on ethics to appear in recent years. This systematic treatment of the philosophy of the moral life has been widely acclaimed and through it Professor Jordan has established himself as an important thinker. The author retired from active teaching in 1944 after more than fifty years of study and teaching at Indiana, Cornell, Chicago, and Butler Universities.

Mr. Jordan develops his ethical philosophy on the basis of the nature of the moral person and the nature of the moral world. Ethics is defined as the science of action, and it is, therefore, a practical science. But there can be no intelligent practice without theory, he says. Thus, the first task of ethics is the theoretical construction, and this is to gain an intellectual grasp of the nature of the moral person and the nature of the moral world. The second task is to control man and the world in order to develop the good life. He believes that man is by nature a social and moral being and that he lives within a moral world. Through the application of wisdom these potentialities may be actualized in integrated persons dwelling together in corporate unity.

This work is masterfully designed into a systematic and coherent system in which the major problems of individual and social ethics are treated brilliantly and constructively. The primary weakness is that the ethical life is seen purely as human activity and no attention is given to God's activity in man redeeming him and transforming him into a responsible being at a higher level. This is, of course, the weakness of every philosophical ethic. Nevertheless, the work deserves careful study and consideration.

Guy H. Ranson

The Shepherd and His Flock. By the Right Reverend Cornelius J. Holland. New York: David MacKay Company, Inc., 1953. 220 pages. $3.00.

A Roman Catholic priest, mellowed by sixty-five years of pastoral experience, writes delightfully of the duties and responsibilities of Catholic pastors. While "Father" Holland is thoroughly in earnest and consistently Catholic, he possesses delicate humor and trenchant wit. He is so completely human that one almost forgets at times that he is a priest. Any pastor, gifted with a bit of imagination and discrimination, will profit from the discussion of the pastoral spirit, the pastor's loyalties, the pastor's relations with his assistants, the pastor as administrator, the pastor as teacher, the pastor and the sacraments, the pastor and money.

Father Holland grows indignant as he writes about the mercenary priest and the unethical means used by many Catholic churches for fund raising. He is particularly strong in his condemnation of anything in connection with money gathering "that has about it the slightest tinge of graft or gambling or worldliness." He commends the Protestant plan of the church budget, subscribed voluntarily and based on the scriptural principle of stewardship-tithing. The author feels also that the Catholic Church in America must modify eventually its stand concerning mixed marriages. One cannot read these fascinating talks of a veteran pastor to young pastors without having his estimate raised of the type of priest which Father Holland represents. The book provides an excellent antidote against unwarranted prejudices toward the Catholic priesthood.

G. S. Dobbins

The American System of Government. New Third Edition. By John H. Ferguson and Dean E. McHenry. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1953. 1,056 pages. $6.00.

The American Federal Government. New Third Edition. By John H. Ferguson and Dean E. McHenry. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1953. 902 pages. $5.50.

College-type textbooks in political science. The second volume, in 902 pages, is a reproduction of the first three parts of the first-

named. The larger volume, in 1,056 pages, has a section on "State and Local Governments" not contained in the other.

Four valuable appendixes give the text of the Declaration of Independence, Articles of Confederation, Constitution of the United States, and Charter of the United Nations. A reading of either volume would help ministers better to understand the common life and its legal machinery to which, in part, the gospel is addressed.

T. D. Price

Within These Borders. By John R. Scotford. New York: Friendship Press, 1953. 147 pages. Cloth $2.00. Paper $1.25.

By far the most complete and up-to-date account of the Spanish-speaking peoples in the United States, and of Protestant efforts to minister to them, is this book prepared especially for study groups in the churches. Among many denominations, this is the topic for study in 1953-54. For Southern Baptists, who follow a different plan of study, the book will serve as a good background volume.

The author served Congregational churches in Texas and Oklahoma before joining the staff of the *Missionary Herald.* He has made the Spanish-speaking Americans an object of research through the years. He writes with sympathy and genuine insight, with appreciation of the Spanish culture and without condescension. There are separate chapters on the Spanish-Americans in New Mexico (who were there before the region was annexed by the United States), the Mexicans in Texas, Mexicans in California, Mexican migrants, Mexicans in industries of the North, and that latest phenomenon, the Puerto Rican immigration into New York. Cubans and other less numerous groups are noted briefly.

No attempt is made to tell the full story of all that the various Evangelical churches are doing to help these people find their place in American life and to find the life more abundant for themselves, but enough is said to make it plain that herein lies their best hope.

H. C. Goerner

Beyond Anxiety. By James A. Pike. New York: Charles Scribner's, 1953. viii, 149 pages. $2.75.

"The Christian Faith supplies answers to the most basic questions which disturb the human spirit." This is the thesis of *Beyond Anxiety.* It requires (1) an understanding of real human problems, as in the study of psychology, and (2) a restatement of relevant portions of the Christian Faith. The Reverend Mr. Pike, Dean of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, places psychological

understanding under the discipline of the Christian Faith. For example, he understands the center of Christian motivation to be gratitude to God rather than any calculated attempt to achieve "mental health."

By emphasizing his own theology rather than psychology, Mr. Pike has made a contribution from the Episcopal point of view. He stresses the sense of the Eternal as a remedy for despair and frequently uses Biblical quotations. The dualism of flesh-soul is repudiated. It is well that he takes his stand from a theological vantage point, for his psychological understanding does not match his theological depth. His knowledge of "psychology" seems to be confined to a study of a certain type of psychoanalysis popular in Eastern cities. He moves from an isolated "case" to a general conclusion. In the discussion on indecision he misses the psychological significance of obsessive-compulsive acts. Fear, guilt, inhibition, frustration, indecision, loneliness, and despair are all considered as types of human anxiety. This equalization of such diverse concepts is similar to the Freudian error of listing seventeen "mechanisms" as though they were all equally terms for "defense."

The book is valuable, however, as an attempt to bring the pastoral theology of one denomination to bear upon certain problems of modern psychology. The theological point of view is always central. Theologians in other denominations need to make a similar contribution to pastoral psychology and theology.

S. Southard

Evangelistic Sermons. Ellis A. Fuller. Nashville: Broadman Press, 1953. 144 pages. $1.75.

The personal biography of Ellis A. Fuller shines brightly through almost every one of the sermons in this Volume. We are deeply indebted to Mrs. Fuller for the difficult task of finding these sermons from the many-times moved and handled files of the late President of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. He was a busy evangelist and administrator of the affairs of the Kingdom. He had little time for "the making of books." This posed difficulties of selection from unorganized materials. The editors made one mistake in the inclusion of the last sermon of the book. This is not the work of Dr. Fuller, and careful reading shows a marked difference in style. It does not embody the personal informality and intimate tenderness of the other sermons.

The flower of Southern evangelism, with its simple and direct theological basis of salvation to all who believe in Christ and choose freely to follow Him is evident in these messages. The practical appeal of the preacher to the deep needs of his hearer for security, meaning, and freedom from destruction is set forth persuasively in

non-sophisticated clarity. The reader who knew Dr. Fuller well will sense the filial relationship that always bound him together with his audience.

The most interesting thing about the book to this reviewer was the numerous encounters with individuals. He could discern weakness, indecisiveness, and timidity in people with a clairvoyant perception. No man could remain indifferent to the gospel in the presence of Ellis Fuller.

Wayne E. Oates

Growth in Grace. By William M. Horn. Philadelphia: The Muhlenberg Press, 1953. 128 pages. $.65.

This is a manual of adult instruction for Lutheran church members. It is intended to be placed in the hands of older young people and adults who are about to be received into Lutheran church membership. It is significant that Lutherans in America are giving much more attention than formerly to adult evangelism. Yet there is no relaxing of the doctrine of baptismal regeneration: "Boiled down to its simplest form, baptism is God's way of making a person His own child. At birth we are children of our parents, bearing their name. In baptism we become children of God. Once baptized, always baptized." But even members "regenerated" by baptism need instruction concerning the Bible, the church, sin, the Redeemer, the sacraments, stewardship, evangelism and missions, prayer, worship, cooperation, etc. The archaic and traditional are strangely intermingled with the functional and valid in these brief discussions.

G. S. Dobbins

Occupational Books: An Annotated Bibliography. By Sarah Splaver. Washington: Biblio Press, 1952. 135 pages. $4.00.

In the last fifty years of American culture a new concept of vocation has arisen; college and high school seniors are being given opportunity to choose their own vocation. Along with this ideal of a self-chosen vocation there has arisen the program of vocational guidance which assist students to match their talents with specific job opportunities. Specialized literature in this field has expanded to the extent that an annotated bibliography is now available on books published just during one five-year period, 1946 to 1951. The books were selected according to standards of the National Vocational Guidance Association.

This volume is a useful handbook for pastors, religious education directors, and teachers who counsel with young people concerning their choice of a vocation. It contains a listing of books by job classification, an annotated bibliography, authors index, and

publishers index. The addresses of vocational counseling services and publishers is included.

It is interesting to notice that although the ministry was for centuries *the* vocation, only three books on the ministry are listed in this bibliography. These were excellent popular, short presentations of the ministry, almost the only ones written during the five-year period covered by this bibliography. As students seek guidance in their choice of a church vocation, they need more adequate material on the theology of vocation, qualifications, problems, and opportunities in this field of service.

S. Southard

Ways of Teaching. By Karen Anderson. Philadelphia: The Muhlenberg Press, 1953. 144 pages. $.90.

This manual is intended primarily for teachers of children in Lutheran Sunday Schools. The author is a public school teacher of wide experience who has brought to Sunday School teaching the understanding and skills which she has acquired through years of public school teaching. The treatment is somewhat lacking in careful organization of materials, but the book is readable, suggestive, helpful. Miss Anderson writes in intimate conversational style about the learning process from both the teacher's and the pupil's standpoint, and in similar vein deals with the teacher and the group, with problems of discipline and methods, and with the teaching possibilities involved in stories and activities. The most original chapter is on play, dramatics, choral reading, and music. A concluding chapter on audio-visual aids gives a list of sources for available aids in this field.

G. S. Dobbins

More Prayer Meeting Topics. By Vivian Ahrendt. Anderson, Indiana: The Warner Press.

Many a minister finds himself hard put to it to discover suitable topics for the prayer meeting. Indeed, while recognizing the potentiality of the midweek prayer service, the average minister almost despairs of making it what it ought to be. There is no magic remedy in this book for a sick prayer meeting, but its use will help. The author has brought together materials for twenty-two services. Each program is well-planned, contains fresh and vital illustrations, and is on a subject that touches the life of the typical Christian. Many of the programs are arranged with a view to the utilization of several persons. The alert pastor will find in the volume many helpful suggestions and may well be stimulated to develop plans of his own along similar lines.

G. S. Dobbins

An Introduction To Psychology. By Hildreth Cross. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1952. 464 pages. $4.95.

"A textbook in general psychology screened through the Word of God"—this is the purpose of this Zondervan "prize winner." Actually it is a presentation of psychology through a keyhole. If the author had related his psychology to the Biblical teachings on personality, he would have made a needed contribution. Instead, he presents a few hortatory passages which are used to buttress his faculty psychology. Although he presents excellent summaries of experimental psychology, his approach to mental hygiene and counseling is most superficial. Norman Vincent Peale and Dale Carnegie are quoted with great approval. He relapses into magical thinking when he presumes that a Christian who trusts in God cannot become mentally ill. This is twentieth century Pharisaism in "psychological" garb.

S. Southard

Successful Fund-Raising Sermons. Compiled by Julius King. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1953. 275 pages. $4.00.

Regularly the minister is called on to preach sermons in the interest of money-raising. To some ministers this is a chore, a sort of necessary evil. To other ministers it is an opportunity, a chance to get at the springs of Christian living and open them up. Mr. King, who has had wide and successful experience in fund raising, both for religious and commercial enterprises, has brought together in this volume thirty-six sermons and addresses given on actual occasions for specific purposes in definite situations. Not all of the contributions are of equal value, but each one is worth reading. One will be notable for its common sense, another for its apt illustrations, another for its insight into human motives, another for its application of scriptural truths to everyday living, another for the way in which it pricks the conscience, and so on.

I should like to recommend heartily that pastors secure this book, read it devotionally, mark striking paragraphs, then make use of it as they spearhead the program of their churches as they set themselves to secure more worthy giving in the year ahead.

G. S. Dobbins

Intelligence and Cultural Differences. By Kenneth Eells, Allison Davis, Robert J. Havighurst, Virgil E. Herrick, Ralph W. Tyler. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1951. 382 pages. $5.00.

Intelligence tests play a significant part in modern educational and psychological procedures. It has been known for sometime that the I.Q. is not a completely valid means of educational guidance, but in view of the fact that it is the most scientific

guide available at present for use with large groups, it has been used as a basis for arranging homogeneous groups, for helping students choose vocations, for sending students to special classes, etc.

It has been known since Binet that there is a definite relationship between scores which pupils obtain on intelligence tests and the social status or cultural background. This scientific study is devoted to determining some of the factors in this process.

As true scientists the authors make no sweeping generalizations but maintain true humility in disclaiming any revolutionary discoveries. However, it is a conclusion of the authors that the meaning of intelligence test results would be clarified by making clear-cut distinctions between three types of intelligence: namely, genetic intelligence, developmental intelligence, and test intelligence. Every educator ought to be acquainted with scientific studies such as this one. It is a step toward the great need for research on many of our educational procedures.

Denton Coker

The Cause of Being: The Philosophy of Creation in St. Thomas. By James Francis Anderson. St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1952. vii, 172 pages. $3.25.

This work is a very good exposition of the cosmogony of Thomas Aquinas. The argument is that in order for anything to be known it must be known in relation to ultimate reality. A thing cannot be known apart from that upon which it depends; apart from being itself. Thus the created order which man encounters through his perceptive faculties cannot be understood by man apart from God, because God alone is Ultimate Being and He is the cause of all finite being. God indwells all created things and holds them in a unity of being through His creative power. The work is in part a defense of Thomistic realism against the anti-metaphysical contentions of modern positivism.

Guy H. Ranson

Psychology of Personality. By Ross Stagner. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1948. 478 pages. $5.25.

Many books have been produced on personality in the last decade, but this one is a "classic" in its field. It is a good text as well as a very useful tool for anyone seeking to understand how to work and guide people.

It is refreshing to find a book on personality that does not major on abnormal psychology. It is a scientific approach to the field; and although it may be too advanced for the beginner in psychology, it is an excellent systematic presentation of the

psychology of normal personality development. It accomplishes well the stated purpose of the author, "to make personality a set of concrete, indentifiable responses of a behaving organism, not a mysterious emergent from someplace out of something." It is not, however, a presentation of behaviorism. This book is a must for every student of human personality who desires to understand the scientific approach to the problem.

Denton Coker

The Enigma of the Hereafter: The Re-incarnation of Souls. By Paul Siwek. New York: Philosophical Library, 1952. xiv, 140 pages. $3.00.

This book demonstrates an exhaustive knowledge to all of the affirmations of reincarnation of souls. Dr. Siwek, Professor of Philosophy and Psychology at Fordham University, examines in some detail, and attempts to refute, the religious, psychological, and moral arguments for reincarnation. Much of his own argument is a forced justification of Roman Catholic teaching on the hereafter, in opposition to reincarnation, whereas neither his position nor the one he attacks can be substantiated on the basis of the materials employed. However, something can be learned from this book, because any learned study of the hereafter can aid us in understanding the nature of the soul and its destiny.

Guy H. Ranson

The Constitution and Religious Education. By Horace B. Sellers. Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1950. 146 pages. $2.25.

The problem of church and state relations in education is a continuing one and a vital one for all free church groups. The author of this book, a Methodist clergyman, presents a very interesting study of one facet of this problem in his discussion of the relationship between the United States Constitution, the state constitutions and their relationship to teaching religion in the public schools.

It is the author's point of view that "religious instruction, nonsectarian in character, can be provided within our public schools under a legitimate interpretation of the United States Constiution." He makes a passionate plea for putting courses of religion into the public school curriculum.

The author has failed to take into account many of the problems involved. He does not consider who will teach these Bible courses, what version of the Bible should be used, and other such thorny issues that make his suggestion impractical at the present time.

Every minister today should be informed on this subject. It is filled with implications for the whole of the American way of life

and is a subject with which religious leaders must be concerned. This book is a good expression of one point of view on the subject but should not be considered an objective discussion of the whole picture.

Denton Coker

Music in Christian Education. By Edith Lovell Thomas. Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1953. 166 pages. $2.00.

Until fairly recently, music in the church was thought of chiefly in terms of an adult choir and congregational singing in connection with the preaching services on Sunday. A far-reaching change is taking place, according to which music is being conceived as an integral part of the church's program of Christian education. In an increasing number of churches the minister of music stands alongside the minister of religious education, and under guidance of the pastor becomes a member of the team seeking to achieve the total purposes of the church.

Here is a book that makes a valuable contribution to this fruitful conception. Miss Thomas has had long and wide experience as minister, instructor, and supervisor of music in churches and church schools. She has high ideals of church music, yet she is a firm believer in making music a means rather than an end. She sees music as an essential aspect of Christian education, as an instrumentality of happy homemaking, as an indispensable element of worship, as a requisite to full-rounded Christian character building. Each chapter is accompanied by illustrations of appropriate music. The literary quality of the book is unusually excellent. It should be in the hands of pastors, educational directors, music directors, choir leaders, musicians, and all others who are concerned with making music a more important asset in the total life and work of the churches.

G. S. Dobbins

Psychology, Religion and Healing. By Leslie D. Weatherhead. New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1951. 543 pages. $5.00.

This is a very extensive survey of methods of healing from the practices of primitive man to the modern psychological approach. The author draws upon his broad experience as minister to a war-stricken people at his great church, City Temple, in London where he led in the establishment of a very outstanding church psychological clinic in collaboration with psychiatrists and doctors, to present an historical sketch of developments in this field.

He defines health as "the complete and successful functioning of every part of the human being in harmonious relationship with every

other part and with the relevant environment." From this point of view he seeks to show how guilt, the deprivation of love, and other emotional states are causative of illness and presents the approach of pastoral counseling which combines a relevant religion and skilled psychotherapeutic methods as the best means to helping individuals find a cure for illness. This book is an approach to establishing a distinctly Christian psychotherapy.

Its basic weakness is in the very fact of its scope. Hardly any one volume could ever do exhaustively a task as gigantic as the one undertaken. Its major contribution lies in the accumulation of an extensive amount of material on the subject and its maintenance of the Christian point of view in healing. In spite of the mass of the book dealing with psychological concepts, a healthy Christian emphasis is made as in the conclusion, "Finally, let us never forget that there is spiritual power to heal which has not been withheld. It has only been unappropriated." Denton Coker

How To Be Creative With Words. By William J. Grace. New York: Fordham University Press, 1952. 345 pages. $4.50.

This book is written on the level of advanced students in creative writing. It proposes no short cut to creativeness, but assumes that creative activity is essential to all men, "because creativity is an aspect of being truly human." Men are creative in many ways, the most significant, according to Professor Grace, being their ability to create through the medium of words. Why write creatively? Because to do so satisfies the human need for contemplation; and at the same time serves as a medium for communicating ideas of intellectual and social significance.

If objection is raised to the use of the word create in connection with human activity, the author replies that "the human artist differs from the Divine Artist in that the Creator creates out of nothing, but the human artist (the creative writer) has to create out of something. The something out of which the human artist or creative writer creates is experience of life." Preliminary discussions gather around the mental faculties of imagination and intuition, and the processes of analysis and synthesis. Insightful distinctions are made between prose and poetry. The techniques of creative writing are indicated as mental association at work, the use of symbolism, facility in description, the capturing and expressing of beauty, the skillful use of humor and irony, skill in the art of the story. Of very great practical value are the sections on "experiment," and the profusion of illustrated materials. Intended primarily for writers, the book should prove of equal value to public speakers. One cannot read this book and not feel rebuked for commonplaceness and stimulated to originality. G. S. Dobbins

Leadership. By William Russel White. Boston: Meador Publishing Company, 1951. 2 Volumes, 2,228 pages. $20.00.

These two giant volumes represent collected materials on leadership from the dawn of civilization to the present. Compiled by an Admiral of the Navy, these books contain a treasury of data on human progress and leadership.

Taking a rather pessimistic view of the average man's intelligence, the author says that 85 per cent of the people able to read the words on the 2,228 pages of these books lacked the power to comprehend the concepts expressed by them. Thus, only 15 per cent of mankind has the intelligence to understand abstract meanings. These constitute the aristocracy of talent and intelligence, while the 85 per cent accept their leadership on the basis of emotional response rather than critical intelligence. Moreover, about 5,000 persons in the last 10,000 years ever amounted to much in permanent achievement.

These volumes could have been boiled down to one. Indeed, only one chapter, the last one, is specifically devoted to the problem of leadership. Perhaps they are not the sort of books that one would want to purchase for a church library but they do contain a wealth of information. Henlee Barnette

Building a Successful Marriage. By Judson T. Landis and Mary G. Landis. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1949. 547 pages. $4.50.

This book conserves the results of teaching marriage courses to some 7,500 college students during the past years. It was written for "those who are not yet married and for those who are married and are concerned with achieving a higher level of happiness and success in their marriages."

Readable and well documented the book may be used as a textbook in high school or in college. Some practical chapters of interest are: "Sex Education of Children," "Buying Life Insurance," "Mixed Marriages," "In-laws and Marriage Adjustment," "Finances and Adjustment in Marriage."

The authors have included a helpful chapter on "Religious Attitudes and the Family." Constructive religious attitudes are seen to contribute favorably to chances for a successful marriage.

Henlee Barnette

Religion and the Decline of Capitalism. By V. A. Demant. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1952. 197 pages. $3.00.

This volume contains the Holland lectures for 1949. It represents an effort to bring up-to-date R. H. Tawney's **Religion and the Rise of Capitalism,** the first Holland lectures given in 1922. Accord-

ing to Demant, the divorce of economic activities from religion and ethics has resulted in an autonomous capitalistic system. Such pre-capitalistic forces as faith in the law of nature, a sense of vocation, liberalism, and the sharp distinction between the sacred and the secular were causative factors in the development of an autonomous economic order.

It is the contention of the author that economic life lost its proper autonomy and became the slave of one of its own activities, namely, the free market. This, in turn, caused social repercussions in which there was a weakening of the sense of community and the significance of the individual. Now humanity is seeking to regain its sense of community in a false collectivism. Thus, we have "the heresy of individualism swinging around to the heresy of collectivism." Since the very socialisms of the century are seeking to cure the crisis of the individual deprived of community at the horizonal dimension alone, the individual is being betrayed by collectivism which denies both individualism and community.

Since this volume has a paucity of economic data, it will perhaps have its strongest appeal to theologians rather than students of economics. Nevertheless, both have something to learn from this stimulating study.

Henlee Barnette

Guide for Counselors of Royal Ambassador Chapters. By J. Ivyloy Bishop. Birmingham, Alabama: Women's Missionary Union, 1953. 323 pages. $1.00.

"Royal Ambassadors" is the Southern Baptist missionary organization for boys, sponsored by Women's Missionary Union. Since its beginning, this has been a relatively neglected activity of our churches. In many causes it has been overshadowed by Boy Scouts. In the majority of churches it has lacked effective male leadership. Apparently not many pastors have realized the basic importance of the organization and its high potentiality.

For a number of years Mr. Bishop has given himself with untiring devotion to the promotion of Royal Ambassadors. Out of wide practical experience he has written this "guide." Long overdue, it sets out in attractive detail the plans and purposes of the Ambassadors, and makes a convincing case for the organization and conduct of a chapter in every Baptist church. Any intelligent man who loves boys and the Lord can take this guide and become a proficient counselor. One of the most attractive features is the section on games and activities that appeal to boys of junior and intermediate ages. The book is fully and carefully illustrated.

G. S. Dobbins

American Social Reform Movements. By Thomas H. Greer. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1949. 287 pages. $4.00.

This book is a study of the pattern of American social reform movements since 1865. The author states that it is his aim "to remove the confusing slogans and to set forth the essential pattern of modern reform movements." His study is limited to an examination of the major organized efforts by the labor movement, socialism, the Agarian movement, the progressive movement and the new deal. As a whole the book makes a contribution to the literature in the field of social reform movements.

Henlee Barnette

Preaching From Pictures. By Kenneth W. Sollitt. Boston: W. A. Wilde Company, 1938. 150 pages. $2.50.

It is the contention of the author that preaching can be made more powerful through the use of pictures. He selects sixteen masterpieces from religious art and builds around them services of worship.

It is readily admitted that visual aids can be used with profit in worship services, particularly on Sunday evening. However, the type of services suggested here, while well done, could perhaps be used best in youth worship groups rather than in the Sunday services.

Findley Edge

The Family in American Culture. By Andrew G. Truxal and Francis E. Merrill. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1947. 763 pages. $4.25.

Here is another textbook on marriage and the family. It follows the general pattern of books of this nature. The authors do, however, take the "cultural point of view" approach and try to make it not just an academic phrase, but a living reality. A good general treatment of the family, but it needs to be revised, corrected at points, and brought up-to-date.

Henlee Barnette

Youth Explores the Bible. David R. Piper. Boston: W. A. Wilde Company, 1953. 354 pages. $2.50.

The purpose of this book as stated by the author "is to present in connected narrative form the great sweep of revelation, so that its total meaning will become increasingly clear to the reader as it unfolds in successive chapters." Such a worthy objective was marred by the superficial way in which the author dealt with many

vital questions. Two cases in point are the explanation of the ages of the ante-diluvian patriarchs and of the handling of the account of David's life during the period in which he was seeking to escape Saul's wrath.

E. B. Bratcher

Let's Talk It Over. By Frank E. Davison. St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1953. 159 pages. $2.50.

When I read the sub-title of this little book, "Answers to Questions on Church Work and Church Problems," I immediately reacted unfavorably to such a presumptious undertaking. But after reading the volume I had to change my evaluation. The author has done an excellent job. He takes fifty practical problems dealing with the life of the minister, the layman, and the church and in a sane, sincere manner undertakes to answer them. The reader may not agree with all the answers but he will be helped by reading them. The book is highly recommended.

Findley Edge

An Exegetical Commentary On The Gospel of Matthew. By Alfred Plummer. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1953. xlvi plus 451 pages. $5.00.

This commentary was first published nearly fifty years ago. It was of inestimable value at that time for its historical material and excellent exegesis and in our own day is still viewed as valuable for an understanding of Matthew's Gospel.

Opening The New Testament. By Floyd V. Filson. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1952. 224 pages. $2.50.

This is the best popularly written introduction to the New Testament that has appeared in recent years. Filson begins where the early Christians began. He begins with the story back of the New Testament in the days of the oral transmission of the Gospels. This book is a valuable aid for teachers and leaders of Bible study groups. It is also suggested as a guide for home study of the New Testament.

Educators Guide to Free Slidefilms. Randolph, Wisconsin: Educators Progress Service. Fifth Annual Edition, 1953. 185 pages. $4.00.

Over six hundred filmstrips which may be used without charge are listed in the Guide this year. Those who have used the Guide know its value.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Crucial Questions About The Kingdom of God. By George E. Ladd. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1952. 193 pages. $3.00.

The New Testament. An Historical and Analytic Survey. By Merrill C. Tenney. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1953. 474 pages. $5.50.

The Biblical Illustrator. Philippians and Colossians. Edited by Joseph S. Exell. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1952. 697 pages. $4.95.

Letters To Mark. On God's Relation To Human Suffering. By James D. Bryden. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953. 150 pages. $2.00.

Jesus Christ And His Cross. Studies on the Saving Work of Christ. By F. W. Dillistone. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1953. 140 pages. $2.50.

An Exposition of The Sermon On The Mount. By Arthur W. Pink. Swengel, Pa.; Bible Truth Depot, 1953. 422 pages. $3.75.

Exposition of the Gospel of John. Three volumes (Volume 1, John 1 to 7; Volume 2, John 8 to 15:6; Volume 3, John 15:7 to end). By Arthur W. Pink. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1953. $4.50 per volume. $11.95 3-volume set.

The English Primers (1529-1545). Their Publication and Connection with the English Bible and the Reformation in England. By Charles C. Butterworth. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 340 pages. $6.00.

The World Turned Upside Down. By Emma L. Patterson. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1953. 281 pages. $3.00.

God's Wrath. Expository Messages on the Whole Bible, taking the Epistle to the Romans as the point of Departure. By Donald Grey Barnhouse. Wheaton, Ill.: Van Kampen Press, 1953. 292 pages. $3.00.

Tudor Prelates and Politics. By Lacey Baldwin Smith. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953. 333 pages. $5.00.

Flaming Minister. A Study of Othello. By G. R. Elliott. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1953. 245 pages. $4.50.

Junior Story Talks. By Marion G. Gosselink. Boston: W. A. Wilde Co., 1953. 128 pages. $2.00.

Plays and Pageants For Many Occasions. By Ernest K. Emurian. Boston: W. A. Wilde Co., 1953. 192 pages. $2.50.

The Douglass Sunday School Lessons 1954. A Commentary on the International Sunday School Lessons. By Earl L. Douglass. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1953. 473 pages. $2.95.

Journey To Bethlehem. By Delos W. Lovelace. New York: T. Y. Crowell Co., 1953. 215 pages. $3.00.

Radio Pals On Bar T Ranch. By Charles Ludwig. Wheaton, Ill.: Van Kampen Press, 1953. 82 pages. No price given.

Jehovah of The Watchtower. A Thorough Exposé of the Important anti Biblical teachings of Jehovah's Witnesses. By Walter R. Martin and Norman H. Klann. New York: Biblical Truth Publishing Society, Inc., 1953. 125 pages. $1.75.

The Catechism of Life. By William Charles Jacobs. Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1953. 90 pages. $2.00.

As Love Knows How. By David and Alice Cheavens. Nashville: Broadman Press, 1952. 180 pages. $2.25.

The Beauty of Holiness. By J. Baines Atkinson. New York: Philosophical Library, 1953. 160 pages. $2.75.

Personality and Problems of Adjustment. By Kimball Young. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1952. 692 pages. $5.00.

Stir Up the Gift. By Paul S. Rees. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1952. 154 pages. $2.00.

Alcohol, Culture, and Society. By Clarence H. Patrick. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1952. 166 pages. $3.00.

How to Help an Alcoholic. By Clifford J. Earle. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1952. 96 pages. $1.50.

Be Still and Know. By Georgia Harkness. Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1953. 96 pages. $1.25.

The Dragon and the Book. By Christine Price. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., Inc., 1953. 196 pages. $2.75.

Muskets Along the Chickahominy. By Gertrude E. Finney. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., Inc., 1953. 242 pages. $3.00.

Oyster Pirates. By Lionel A. Hunt. Wheaton: Van Kampen Press, 1953. 92 pages. $1.00.

Ginger and the Glacier Express. By Dorothy Grunbock Johnston. Wheaton: Van Kampen Press, 1953. 104 pages. $1.00.

Trap Line Thief at Sugar Creek. By Paul Hutchens. Wheaton: Van Kampen Press, 1953. 102 pages. $1.00.

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